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ARTICLES

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The Literature of Catastrophe

Fascinating though the study of the Later Roman Empire might be, lurking in the background there is always the disquieting knowledge that in the end, it all fell apart; that no matter what greatness might be discovered, this cannot conceal the fatal decline, the entropy of which the seeds are already visible in the "Imperial Centuries," and the inevitable catastrophe of 1453. For us, with our hindsight, this is inescapable. The remarkable thing is that the later Romans themselves, or some of them some of the time, also shared this sense of impending doom, and over the centuries even evolved an apocalyptic literary tradition which tried to probe the mystery of the final catastrophe.

It is perhaps surprising at first sight that this should have been so, when it obviously was not so in the old Western Roman Empire. Given the degree of continuity between Old Rome and New Rome, one might have expected some of the optimistic confidence in Eternal Rome to have carried over to the East, and indeed the Emperor Constantine the Great, who spared no expense to recreate Rome on the Bosphorus, is even said to have purloined the sacred *pallium* (secretly, so as to anger neither his pagan subjects in the Old, nor his Christians in the New Rome) which Aeneas allegedly brought from Troy to the Tiber, and to have secreted it beneath the great porphyry column in the forum of the New City.[1] Whether the story is true or not is irrelevant; the important point is that many of the late Romans believed that it was true, and *still* did not rise to the optimistic belief of their Latin-speaking predecessors in the indestructability of their city.

The reason is not hard to find; unlike their predecessors, these New Romans were Christians, and as such, their optimism was of a different order: they looked for a golden age, not in this world, but in the next; and as Christ-

1. Procopius, *De Bello Gothico,* in *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia,* ed. J. Haury, 3 vols. in 4 (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905-13), I, 15; Ioannis Malalas, *Chronographia,* ed. L. Dindorf, Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: E. Weber, 1831), p. 320; *Chronicon Paschale,* ed. L. Dindorf, Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae, 2 vols. (Bonn: E. Weber, 1832), II, 528. 14, Παραστάσεις σύντομοι Χρονικαί, c. 23, ed. T. Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum,* 7 vols. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1901-07), I, 33; and VII, 161.

ians, they were fully prepared to see the visible creation dissolve away at the end of time. Furthermore, they believed theirs to be the last and greatest of the four world empires, and as such, esteemed it as an important–but dispensible–element of the divine dispensation. Consequently, they simply did not share the Old Romans' faith in the permanence of their city, in spite of its superior walls and magnificent strategic location; praise they might heap upon Constantinople, New Rome and New Jerusalem in one, *ἡ βασιλεύουσα τῶν πόλεων*, *ἡ θεοφύλακτος καὶ βασιλὴ πόλις* and so forth, but they never called her *eternal*, for if "heaven and earth shall pass away", so too must the City of Constantine.

However, if the East Romans failed to inherit the earthly optimism of their Latin predecessors, they certainly possessed something of the intellectual curiosity which was their Greek heritage. If heaven and earth were to pass away, then they wanted to know how and when the catastrophe would come about. Jesus himself had spoken of disasters which would precede the final dissolution,[2] and on the basis of one of his sayings, it seemed possible to know still more about these matters: " 'It is given to you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven,'–how much more so, then, the mysteries of the world?"[3] So the apocalyptists (whose work spans the entire Byzantine millenium) should probably be seen as the Christian end of a spectrum of prophets (diviners, soothsayers, dream-interpreters, astrologers, fortunetellers, even necromancers) all of whom the Later Empire seems somehow to have accomodated (and valued) and all of whom sought to probe "the mysteries of the world." Of these, only the *ὀνειρόκριται* and the apocalyptists have made any contribution to the literary heritage of the empire, the latter by far the greater, and it is with theirs that this paper is concerned.

Anybody who occupies himself in any way with mediaeval Greek manuscripts will have come across several examples of apocalyptic literature, and if he has paid any attention to them will realise that they constitute a vast, tangled undergrowth of material which has been very little studied and even less understood; predictably, the confusion intensifies as time advances. In fact it is necessary to retreat some centuries in order to reach a point where the apocalyptic tradition presents a problem of manageable proportions. That point is probably conveniently marked by the appearance of what is perhaps the most impressive of the Byzantine apocalypses, and one which was to have a

2. The eschatological passages in the Gospels, Mark xiii.1-37, Matthew xxiv.1-51 and Luke xxi.5-36, provided a considerable amount of basic material for the apocalyptists; likewise certain Pauline passages, e.g., the concluding chapters of I Corinthians, and of course most of Apocalypsis Iohannis (Revelations).

3. *Vita Sancti Andreae Sali* (ut subter) c. 208, quoting Matthew xiii.11: *ὅτι ὑμῖν δέδοται γνῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν· Πόσῳ μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου....*

marked influence on subsequent eschatological speculation, the *Andrew Salos Apocalypse,* so called because it is found embedded in the tenth-century *Vita Sancti Andreae Sali,* the (fictitious) saint who allegedly uttered its prophecies, though in fact the *Apocalypse* can probably be dated to the last decades of the ninth century.[4] With its seven eschatological rulers, this is probably the most comprehensive of the Byzantine apocalypses, in that it both shows the influence of many (if not all) pre-existant Byzantine prose apocalyptic in varying measure (as this essay attempts to show), and can be seen to have made a significant contribution to most of what came after.

The Bollandists include a number of apocalypses under the heading of *Hagiographica Graeca.* This is somewhat misleading, for such writings really constitute a separate literary genre. Whilst the *vitae* ostensibly record the past, the apocalypses claim to foretell the future, and in fact, the *Vita Sancti Andreae Sali* provides the only known instance of an apocalypse embodied in a *vita.* Generally speaking, apocalyptists and hagiographers wrote in response to very different circumstances and for different reasons. The hagiographer wrote to educate his readers and to excite them to greater piety; the apocalyptist wrote to warn and to alarm or to console and comfort them in times of disillusionment or affliction. By holding up noble examples, the hagiographer tried to demonstrate that this present life could be enriched and

4. See F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca,* Subsidia hagiographica, no. 8a, 3 vols., 3rd ed. (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1957), item 117. The *Vita Sancti Andreae Sali* is cited in this study by reference to the paragraph numbers (cc.) of the edition of C. Janning, *Acta sanctorum,* 1st ed., *a tomo I Ianuarii* (Antwerp: Ioannes Meursius, 1643); *ad tomum IV Novembris* (Bruxelles: apud Socios Bollandians, 1925) [*Maii* t. Vi (Antwerp: M. Cnobarus, 1688), pp. 4*-111*; 3rd ed., *ibid.,* pp. 4*-102*]. This text is reproduced (not without errors) in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca,* 161 vols. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1857-66), CXI, cols. 627-888 (hereafter *PG*). The *Apocalypse* is cc. 208-29 of this text. There is another edition of the *Vita,* based on *Codex Sinaiticus 543 (anno 1630)* by the Jordanite monk Augoustinos Polyetopoulos, *βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πάτρος ἡμων 'Ανδρέου τοῦ διά Χριστόν σαλοῦ* (Athens, 1911; and Jerusalem, 1912, identical editions).

This book is fully described by L. Petit, *Bibliographie des Acolouthies Grecques,* Subsidia hagiographica, no. 16 (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1926), p. 8. Chs. 32, 33, 40, 49, and parts of 50 and 51 of Polyetopoulos' text are not found in Janning's. On the date of the *Vita,* see C. Janning, *Commentarius praevius* to the edition of the *Vita Sancti Andreae Sali* cited above, *PG,* CXI, cols. 621-28. Sara Murray, *A Study of the Life of Andreas, the Fool for the Sake of Christ* (Borna-Leipzig: R. Noske, 1910), pp. 23-30, *passim*; J. Wortley, "A Note on the Sate of the Vita Sancti Andreae Sali," *Byzantion,* 39 (1969), 204-08; and *idem,* "The Relationship between the *Vita* and the Cult of Saint Andrew Salos," *Analecta Bollandiana,* 90 (1972), 137-41. On the date of the *Apocalypse,* see J. Wortely, "The Political Significance of the Andrew-Salos Apocalypse," *Byzantion,* 43 (1973), 248-63.

ennobled; the apocalyptist tended to despair of this world and to look for its replacement by another.

It is therefore necessary to study the literature of the apocalypses in the context of the tradition to which it belongs; but the study of the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition is beset by a difficulty peculiar to apocalyptic literature in general. All documents suffer a certain degree of modification at the hands of their copyists and editors, *vitae* perhaps a little more than other works, but apocalypses tend to undergo a veritable transformation as succeeding generations of would-be prophets rewrite, revise and augment them, or conflate them with each other, in an attempt to make them relevant to the contemporary situation. Sometimes it is impossible to find two even nearly identical texts of the same work.[5] This constant revision would be no major problem had all, or even a representative selection of the documents survived; it would then be possible to construct a *stemma* showing the origins and development of the apocalyptic tradition; but unfortunately this is not the case. The fact that revised versions of the texts were produced in itself suggests that their predecessor had ceased to be relevant; consequently it is hardly surprising if they ceased to be recopied. Nearly all the surviving Greek documents are late, dating from the Palaeologian age and later, with only a few earlier examples, amongst which the *Andrew Salos Apocalypse* is outstanding.

This paucity of documents originating in the early and middle Byzantine periods must not be allowed to create the illusion that apocalyptic writing was stagnant between the rise of Constantine and the fall of his city to the Franks. There are three kinds of evidence the cumulative effect of which is to suggest that it was a period during which a marked development took place. In the first place, there is sufficient extant material to give a clear picture of the apocalyptic tradition which the Byzantines inherited. Secondly, the very disparity of the extant Greek documents is useful; on the basis that augmentation was more common than omission or abbreviation, it can be assumed that the most widely attested features may be the oldest ones, but this method has to be applied with caution. Thirdly, there have survived in oriental versions certain apocalyptic texts of which there is good reason to believe there once also existed Greek versions which have since perished. With the

5. This is illustrated in the edition of *Sinaiticus 543 (anno. 1630)*. See above, n. 4, Polyetopoulos. With the exception of a number of block interpolations, this text of the *Vita* is tolerably similar to the twelfth-century *Vaticanus Graec. 1574* (Janning's *Vaticanus*), except in the apocalyptic section, which shows signs of considerable modification in the light of both the Latin and Turkish conquests of Constantinople, with some indication of a growing Russian power, e.g., p. 163: "There is a story that the race of Hagarenes will enter in and will slaughter a sufficient number with their sword; but I say that the white race will come in whose name is summarized in the seventeenth and twenty-fourth letters" [i.e., *rô(s)*].

help of these three sets of evidence a tentative pattern of the devolopment of the Greek tradition can be inferred.

There are two different kinds of Byzantine apocalyptic literature, which may conveniently be denominated prose and poetry, though the distinction goes very much deeper than that. The poetical works, which are very few, derive from the Sibylline tradition, a product of the Judaeo-Hellenistic world of Alexandria which formed part of the Christian heritage. Though Judaeo-Christian in content, the *Oracula Sibyllina*[6] are Hellenistic in concept, and derive ultimately from a pagan origin. The last books (eleven through fourteen), produced in the fifth century, show that the tradition was already declining; it appears to have come to an end with the occupation of Egypt in the seventh century.[7]

To what extent the *Sibyllines* influenced or contributed to the Byzantine prose tradition it is very difficult to say, partly on account of the extremely nebulous nature of their prophecies, and partly because of the great disparity between them and the extant prose works in both form and style. The *Sibyllines* inspired a small number of imitations (of which the best known is the so-called *Oracles of Leo the Wise*),[8] but these in turn have very few common properties with the prose works. The *Sibyllines* demand a much higher level (and type) of education on the part of the reader than do the prose works; the medieval apocalyptists were rarely distinguished in scholarship or style, and it is open to question whether most of them would even be capable of reading the *Sibyllines.* Nevertheless, points do occur at which they may have exerted some influence, though it is rarely very pronounced. There appears to be no positive evidence of continuity between the *Sibyllines* and the prose apocalypses.

To a very large extent, Byzantine prose apocalyptic literature derives ultimately and directly from a single document, the latter part of the canonical *Book of Daniel.*[9] Written during the time of the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes (168-65 B.C.), this document contains Daniel's vision of the four beasts and the ten horns, and looks to the coming of "one like unto the Son of Man" who will establish a "kingdom of saints"; it is thought to preserve an oral tradition going back to the time of Alexander the Great. This is the first of a long series of Jewish apocalyptic works (largely associated

6. *Die Oracula Sibyllina,* ed. J. Geffcken, Der Kirchenväter-Kommission der Königl. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902).

7. H. C. O. Lanchester, "Sibyllines," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion,* ed. J. Hastings *et al.,* 13 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & F. Clark, 1908-26), IX, 496-500.

8. *PG,* CVII, col. 1129 ff.; these oracles represent a complex literary tradition which finally mingled with the prose apocalyptic tradition; see C. Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise," *Recuil des travaux de l'Académie Serbe des Sciences,* 6 (1960), 59-93 + 4 plates.

9. Daniel chs. vii-xii; viii-xii are a commentary on vii.

with the sect of the Pharisees) which continued to proliferate and diversify until the wars of 70 and 134 A.D. seemed finally and irreparably to destroy the nationalistic aspirations which they expressed.[10] Certain constant features of the Jewish writing may be discerned: it was prophesied that there would be signs, such as a recognizable succession of kings or empires, preceding a "day of Yahweh" when the Messiah would appear. In the earliest phase, the messianic figure was interpreted as a personification of the Jewish people, but as foreign domination of their country continued unabated, this gave way, at least at popular level, to the hope for a more immediate deliverer, a second David or a Judas Maccabaeus, a superhuman warrior who would usher in the age of gold.

The frustration of Jewish hopes almost exactly coincided with the rise of the Christian religion, which suffered persecution from an early date, and turned to apocalyptic writing for consolation just as the Jews had done. At first Christians seem to have followed the earlier Jewish tradition of a nonpolitical messianic expectation. Jesus had been at some pains to dissociate himself from the image of a warrior-king, in spite of having apparently chosen for himself from the messianic title "Son of Man."[11] He had indicated that, far from fighting battles in this world, he would return in glory, not in time, but at the end of time, to judge, and to establish a kingdom "not of this world." The Gospels contain an apocalypse attributed to Jesus (but showing signs of having been composed after the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem in 70 A.D.) which largely consists of the nonpolitical signs by which men might be able to tell that the end was near, and the heavenly Messiah about to return.[12] Subsequent Christian apocalyptic, following the lead of the *Apocalypse of St. John the Divine* (the canonical *Revelation*) proceeded to devolop this emphasis, introducing certain political factors (such as the beast in *Revelation*) as evil portents of the approaching consummation. Drawing on material in the New Testament and the canonical *Daniel*, a complete eschatological cycle was evolved, into which a certain amount of legendary matter also found its way at an early date, and thus, the "Antichrist legend" was born, which occurs more or less entirely in every early Christian apocalypse. It is a misleading title, for the climax of the story is not the coming of Antichrist,

10. II/IV Esdras chs. iii-xiv provides a collection of Jewish apocalyptic writings; the canonical books of Zepheniah and Malachi also fall within this category.

11. Cf. Mark viii.29-31; Peter's confession, "Thou art the Chrsit" is not rebuked, but reinterpreted. So also, before the high priest, when asked: "Art thou the Christ?", Jesus said, "I am; and ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power and coming in the clouds of heaven." Mark xiv.61-2.

12. Mark xiii.5-37; cf. Luke xxi.7-36.

but the return of Jesus in glory, of which the other is a forewarning.[13]

The Antichrist legend is the first and most constant factor in Byzantine apocalyptic, but it underwent one major modification at the beginning of the Byzantine era. In spite of Jesus' attempts to spiritualize the messianic concept, the hope of an earthly warrior-savior had not perished, and, nourished perhaps by the Graeco-Roman concept of the deified emperor and legends such as that of the sleeping Alexander, the hope of a warrior-king began to reappear in apocalyptic writing. Precisely how the figure of the warrior-king, which was to dominate apocalyptical writing for nearly a thousand years, found its way into the Christian apocalyptic tradition has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Norman Cohn has suggested that this figure was inherited from the *Oracula Sibyllina*,[14] but he did not indicate where he found that righteous warrior-emperor figure is in fact a transformed wicked emperor-figure. The beast of *Revelation* is obviously meant to represent the persecuting Roman emperor; a similar figure is to be found in some other (but by no means all) pre-Nicene apocalypses; for example in the *Testamentum Domini*, c. 5:

> There shall arise in the west a great king of foreign race, a prince of great craft, godless, a homicide, a deceiver, a lover of gold, great at devices, a hater of the faithful and a persecutor.

However, when the Roman emperor ceased to be the persecutor and became the protector of Christians, the apocalyptic figure which represented him underwent a similar transformation, and as the wicked emperor-figure to a certain extent prefigured the supernatural Antichrist, so the transformed warrior-emperor inevitably attracted certain messianic elements and his reign eventually came to be portrayed almost as an anticipation of the

13. This cycle was studied and explained at length by W. Bousset, trans., *The Antichrist Legend: A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1896). Early Christian apocalyptic is typified by such works as the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*; there is a useful collection of minor works in C. Von Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae Mosis Esdrae Pauli Johannis item Mariae Dormitio* (Leipzig, 1866). Hippolytus' *Demonstratio de Christo et Antichristo,* in *PG,* X, cols. 725-88 (a development of Daniel vii) was known and quoted by the *Andrew Salos* apocalyptist (c. 222 = *PG,* X, col. 773A); he probably also used the Pseudo-Hippolytean *De consummatio mundi,* in *PG,* X, cols. 903-52. These works are typical of pre-Byzantine apolitical eschatology; see also Ephraem Syrus, *Opera omnia,* ed. G. S. Assemani, 6 vols. (Roma: Ex Typographia Vaticana, apud J. M. H. Salvioni, 1732-46), II, 192-209, 222-30 and 247-58.

14. N. R. C. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1957), p. 13. An embryo series of reigns can probably be discerned in *Oracula Sibyllina,* III, 1-96.

παρουσία.

It is probably significant that the earliest portrayal of a pro-Christian emperor which I can find appears to refer to Constantine and Helen; the following quotation is from a document belonging to the "Tiburtine" tradition which can be definitely stated to have originated before 500 A.D.:

> Dans le septième âge un roi viendra de Byzance et une femme de Constantinople; ils iront dans la ville de Jerusalem; ils tueront beaucoup de gens à cause de celui qui a été mis en croix; ils rassembleront une foule considérable qui adorait les démons et les ramèneront à lui.[15]

This emperor is still a persecutor, but his efforts are now directed on behalf of, not against, the Christians. Two features, his going to Jerusalem and his pro-Christian violence, became constant features of subsequent apocalyptic.

It would appear that in some instances the transformed figure of the beast-become-warrior replaced the beast figure (for example in the Pseudo-Methodius tradition), but that in others it was added to the beast figure (for example in the Tiburtine tradition), thus forming the basis of a series of reigns. The Wicked Woman of *Revelation* provided a climax to that series and a transition to the Antichrist legend. Such is the basic pattern of the prose apocalypses.

There are three groups of documents (two of which have already been mentioned) which represent apocalyptic traditions which can be said with any certainty to be older than the *Andrew Salos Apocalypse.* These traditions can most conveniently be designated by the names which some of their documents bear: first the Daniel tradition; secondly the [Pseudo-] Methodius tradition; and thirdly the Tiburtine tradition.

* * *

There exists a Greek *Visions of Daniel* which has been edited three times from different MSS all of which display a most unusual similarity.[16] It is a

15. R. M. J. Basset, "La Sagesse de Sibylle," *Les Apocryphes Ethiopiens,* 14 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1896-1909), X, 32. See below on the Tiburtine documents.

16. A. Vasil'ev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina,* pt. 1 (Moscow: Sumptibus et typis Universitatis Caesareae, 1893), 43-47; V. M. Istrin, *Otkrovenie Methodiia Patarskago i Apokriphicheskiia videniia Daniila* (Moscow, 1897), pp. 135 ff.; E. Klostermann, *Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1895), pp. 115-21. Also in Tischendorf, pp. xxx-xxxiii. This work tells of a series of woes which will overtake the "city of seven hills," in the course of which it will be captured by the "white race" for a period of six and five years (Klostermann, 11., 40 and 41), shortly after which the Tartars are mentioned by name *(Tataroi).*

tiny work of only some 120 lines, bearing some similarity to the *Andrew Salos Apocalypse,* but it also unmistakably reflects conditions at Constantinople in the thirteenth century. It might be assumed that this is an amended version of a document which existed in the ninth century, but it bears very little resemblance to the *Visions of Daniel* which Liutprand cynically described in 968:

> The Greeks and Saracens have certain writings which they call the Visions of Daniel; I should call them Sibylline books. In them is found written how many years each emperor shall live; what crises will occur during his reign; whether he shall have peace or war, and whether fortune will smile on the Saracens or not. According to these prophecies, the Assyrians in the time of the present Emperor Nicephorus [Phocas] will not be able to resist the Greeks, but Nicephorus himself will only live for seven years. After his death an emperor will arise worse than he (only I fear that none such can be found) and more unwarlike, in whose times the Assyrians shall so prevail that they will bring under their rule all the country as far as Chalcedon, which is not far from Constantinople. Both peoples pay serious heed to these dates, and so now for one and the same reason the Greeks are pressing vigorously forward, and the Saracens, in despair, offer no resistance, awaiting the time when they will attack, and the Greeks in turn not resist.[17]

17. Liutprand, *Legatio* xxxviii, in *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona,* ed. J. Becker, Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi, 3rd ed. (Hanover and Leipzig: Hahnschebuchhandlung, 1915). This quotation is from *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona,* trans. F. A. Wright (London: G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1930), pp. 257-58 (slightly emended).

I can find no evidence that the Saracens had such books, but it is not impossible considering the wide distribution and adaptability of the interpolated Daniell vii (see immediately below). However, they certainly knew of such literature; Tabari tells that Parwîz was once recognized (though *incognito*) and told how long he and the succeeding kings of Persia would rule, by a hermit at Raqqa, which was under the domination *du roi de Roum.* When asked how he knew such things he replied: "Des durée du règne de chacun en particulier, et l'époque ou il vivra." *Chronique de Abou-Djafar-Mohammed-ben-Djarirben-Yezid Tabari,* trans. H. Zotenberg, 4 vols. (rpt. Paris: G. P. Maisonneune, 1867-74), II, 288-89.

There have survived, however, three oriental versions of the interpolated *Daniel* chapter seven; the Persian-Jewish and Coptic versions (of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries respectively) each depict a long line of rulers, mainly Moslem, down to the time of the Crusades, but the Armenian version is a much older document which appears to have originated *ca.* 500.[18] In it are depicted the emperors of the East from Constantine to Zeno, after which the succession becomes unidentifiable, and finally gives way to a brief narration of the Antichrist legend. Macler thought that the text shows marked signs of having been translated from a Greek original, which is hardly surprising since the main burden of the narrative is to demonstrate the abiding qualities of "the city of seven hills." The work seems to agree with Liutprand's description except in one vital particular; it contains no mention of the Saracens or of Islam, having been written before either were known; but it does contain passages which are reminiscent of the *Andrew Salos Apocalypse,* though at times only very remotely so. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that between 500 and 880 this work was subject to continuous revision (and perhaps even abbreviation, since the line of reigns was inordinately long), and that some later version of it was used by the *Andrew Salos* apocalyptist.

* * *

The Armenian text contains no mention of a messianic warrior-king; to find that figure it is necessary to turn to another early Byzantine apocalyptic tradition, the so-called *Revelations of Methodius,* which is of the greatest importance. "During the middle ages," wrote Ernst Sackur, "the influence of Pseudo-Methodius was second only to that of the canon [of scripture] and the church fathers."[19] It has survived in a very wide variety of MSS in Greek, Latin and Slavonic (not to mention the oriental versions), mostly dating from

18. All three versions were translated and commented on by F. Macler, "Les apocalypses apocryohes de Daniel," *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* 33 (1896), 37-53, 163-76, and 288-319. The Persian-Jewish version *(Qissahi Daniel)* had previously been studied by J. Darmesteter, "L'apocalypse persane de Daniel," in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes,* fasc. 73 (Paris: H. Champion, 1869-), 405-20. The Coptic version has been recently re-examined by O. Maindarus, "A Commentary on the XIVth Vision of Daniel," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica,* 32 (1966), 394-449, and an article on these documents as sources of Jewish history by A. Sharf is promised soon, but not yet available. There appears to be no other literature on the subject. The Armenian text was edited by G. Kalemkiar in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* 6/2 (1892), 109 ff.; for a French translation, see Macler, pp. 291-309. Macler notes, pp. 41 and 290, that both Patriarch Nicephorus ("dans sa *Stichométrie*") and Pseudo-Athanasius mention the existence of apocryphal books of Daniel.

19. E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen Pseudomethodius, Adso und die Tiburtinische Sybylle* (Hall: A. S. M. Niemeyer, 1898), p. 6.

the later middle ages, and differing widely from each other in content. All the available western and Slavonic texts were collected and edited by V. Istrin in 1897, together with a long study of them in Russian.[20] He discerned four major recensions, of which the last two increasingly abounded in interpolations and divergences. Unfortunately, reviewing Istrin's work over thirty years later, Michael Kmosko was forced to conclude that it had achieved no positive results, as most of the MSS he used went no further back than the fifteenth century.[21]

Meanwhile Ernest Sackur had gone a great way towards establishing the original text by editing the early Latin translation of *Pseudo-Methodius* from four MSS of the late eighth century.[22] He believed that the original author was a Syrian who wrote in Greek in the last quarter of the seventh century,[23] and this conclusion was generally accepted until F. Nau published a French translation of what he believed to be the Syriac original of *Pseudo-Methodius*, but his text varied too widely from Sackur's to be convincing;[24] nevertheless, it gave rise to the suspicion of a Syriac original and this led Kmosko to study *Codex Vaticanus Syriacus 58.* Although he found the text to be in a very bad condition, he became convinced that this was the Syriac *Urtext* of *Pseudo-Methodius.* He sought to relate it to a historical situation and this served to confirm Nau's dating of the original composition in the seventh century.[25]

Pseudo-Methodius is a most remarkable *mélange* of legend, history, scripture, and ethnic megalomania. Its most striking feature is its division of world history into seven *aeons,* of which this present is the seventh and last one. This system of seven *aeons* (which is the basis of Byzantine chronology and eschatology) originated with a literal reading of a verse in the Psalms: "In thine eyes a thousand years are as a day"[26] and an allegorical application of the seven days of creation to the process of recreation. Man appeared on earth in the midst of the sixth day of creation; therefore the New Man, that is, Christ, must have appeared on earth in the midst of the sixth world-day,

20. Istrin.

21. M. Kmosko, "Das Rätsel des Pseudomethodius," *Byzantion,* 6 (1931), 273-96; see p. 275.

22. Sackur, pp. 60-96; the Latin text generally agrees with the Greek of Istrin's "first recension," pp. 5-55.

23. Sackur, pp. 53-56; there is thus no connection whatsoever between *Pseudo-Methodius* and that St. Methodius who in the third century was successively Bishop of Olympus, Patara, and Tyre, the author of *De Autexousia* and the *Convivium x Virginum.*

24. F. Nau, "Pseudomethodius," *Journal Asiatique,* 11th series, 9 (1917), 415-52, reviewed by P. Peters in *Analecta Bollandiana,* 46 (1926), 173.

25. Kmosko, p. 276.

26. Psalms lxxxix.4 (LXX.).

that is, in the sixth millenium, *ca. A.M.* 5500.[27] By this token the sixth *aeon* together with this present creation should have drawn to a close *ca. A.D. 500*, and given way to the seventh *aeon*, the "sabbath of rest."[28] When this in fact did not happen, a revised system was adopted which postponed the "sabbath of rest" until the eighth *aeon*; hence the two systems found in patristic literature.[29]

The general contents of *Pseudo-Methodius* may best be described by noting the seven constituent documents which Bousset claimed to have discerned, though without accepting his theory that they were separate in origin:

1. A survey of early world history from Adam onwards.
2. Gideon's victory over the Ishmaelites; a promise of their return, and also of the ultimate victory of the Romans over them.
3. The exclusion of Gog and Magog by Alexander the Great, and a prediction of their return. Then follows the curious legend that on the death of Philip of Macedon, his widow, Chuseth, returned to her father, Phol, King of Ethiopia. He in turn sent her to marry Byzas, the King of Byzantium, to whom she bore the fair Byzantia. When the child grew up, she married Armaelius of Rome, who was none other than Romulus. They had three sons, Armaelius-Romulus junior, Urbanus, and Claudius, to whom it was assigned respectively to rule at Rome, Byzantium, and Alexandria.[30]
4. A study of II Thessalonians ii, 2 and I Corinthians xv, 24 designed to show that the empire of the Romans will be the last empire upon earth.
5. The Islamic reign of terror.

27. Hippolytus (*In Danielem* IV.24) is thought first to have suggested A.M. 5500 for the birth of Jesus; V. Grumel, "Les premières ères mondiales," *Revue des Etudes Byzantines,* 10 (1952), 93-108; and *idem, La chronologie,* Bibliothèque byzantine. Traité d'études byzantines, 1 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), p. 6.

28. See Hebrews iii.l-iv.1.

29. There does however seem to be a certain amount of evidence that the *Pseudo-Methodius* system was not unknown before A.D. 500. In the *Sibyllines,* it is the eighth of a total of ten *aeons* which will herald in the golden age, the "new heaven and new earth" of Revelation xxxi.1:

> But in the third lot of revolving years
> Eight the first, shall another world appear.

[*Oracula Sibyllina* VII.191-92]. Like so much else in the *Sibyllines,* this is too vague to bear much weight, but the so-called *Slavonic Enoch* is more explicit: "Let there be at the beginning of the eighth thousand a time when there is no computation and no end, neither years nor months nor weeks nor days nor hours." *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch,* ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1896), ch. 32, vv. 1, 2.

30. Sackur, pp. 75-78.

6. A prophecy that "the King of the Greeks and Romans will spring up against them [the Moslems] with great wrath, and will awake like a man from the sleep of wine, a man whom men thought was dead and of no use."[31] He will completely defeat the Ishmaelites and oppress them; the Romans will enjoy peace and prosperity; then the "unclean nations" will break out again and ravage the whole earth. "Then the King of the Romans will go to Jerusalem and remain there ten and a half years," where he will surrender his empire on the holy cross.

7. The final consummation.

The connecting link between these items, or more specifically, between items three and six, is a verse from the Psalms: "Ethiopia will stretch out her hands to God."[32] It is in fulfilment of this prophecy that the "Emperor of the Romans" will go to Jerusalem and, resigning his diadem, "stretch out his hands to heaven," for this emperor will be the last representative of the descendants of Chuseth, daughter of Phol, King of Ethiopia. Thus it can be said that in the person of the last emperor of the "Kingdom of the Christians," the last and greatest of all empires, "Ethiopia will stretch out her hands to God." It is thus difficult to avoid the conclusion that the *Pseudo-Methodius* argument contains a strong element of ethnic megalomania, the former prerogative of the Jewish apocalypses. Michael Kmosko wrote:

> Pseudo-Methodius was a keen, even a fanatical supporter of the Byzantine *Kaiseridee.* His *Apocalypse* is nothing more than a political pamphlet put out in the interest of the Byzantines, on the idea of membership of the Empire for the countries occupied by the Arabs, to keep them on the alert, and to prevent the Christian population of Syria from giving in to circumstances too easily. . . . We may suppose that Pseudo-Methodius, as a supporter of the Byzantine *Kaiseridee,* and also a convinced supporter of the state church, was a Melchite.[33]

31. *Ibid.*, p. 89 = Istrin, p. 40.

32. Psalm lxvii.32 (LXX).

33. Kmosko, p. 291. *Melchite* is a term (derived from the Syriac *malkaya,* imperial) used to denote the Christians of Egypt and Syria who refused to accept monophysitism, and did accept the Chalcedonian definition. They therefore remained in communion with Constantinople, and were known as "Emperor's men."

Did the *Andrew Salos* apocalyptist use *Pseudo-Methodius* as a source for his work? There is no conclusive evidence that he did, but it seems very likely that he at least knew the work. Unfortunately at the one point of close similarity, the text of the *Vita* is particularly bad:

Pseudo-Methodius

καὶ ἐπὰν φανῇ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἀναβήσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄνω εἰς Γολγοφᾶ, ἔνθα ἐπάγην τὸ ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ, εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὅπου προσηλώθη ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν ἑκούσιον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὑπέμεινε θάνατον. καὶ ἀρεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τό στέμμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιθήσει αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ καὶ ἐκπετάσας τάς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ παραδώσει τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί· καὶ [παραδώσει τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ὅτε] ἀναληφθήσεται ὁ σταυρὸς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἅμα τῷ στέμματι τοῦ βασιλέως.[34]

Andrew Salos

Ἐλεύσεται γὰρ σκῆπτρον ἕτερον τὸ ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας ὥς φασί χρόνον. Καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐνωθήσεται τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ ξύλου τὰ ἅγια τμήματα, εἰς ἔμπνευσιν τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ, καὶ δοθήσεται τῷ βασιλεῖ. Καὶ αὐτὸς γενόμενος ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἔστησαν οἱ πόδες Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, οἰκείας χερσὶ τὸ τῆς βασιλείας διάδημα Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν ἐπιθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ τίμιον ξύλον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ.[35]

It seems likely that the *Andrew Salos* apocalyptist knew a version of *Pseudo-Methodius,* but probably a more developed version than that of the Latin text, probably one which, under the influence of the interpolated *Daniel* chapter seven, had already divided the reign of the one emperor into two reigns, perhaps of thirty-two and twelve years respectively. I have not been able to find such a version, but Polyetopoulos knew of one, for he adds a quotation from it as a note on the fifth reign of the *Andrew Salos Apocalypse:* " 'After the death of [the emperor from poverty] there will rule for twelve years the one *from Arabia.*' (Vision of St. Methodius)."[36] At first one is inclined to think that Polyetopoulos was quoting from one of those late documents in which *Pseudo-Methodius* and the Greek *Visions of Daniel* were

34. Istrin, pp. 45-46 = Sackur, p. 93. On the departure of the last emperor to resign his empire at Jerusalem, cf. Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως III, 170; and variant in *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum,* VII, 268.10-269.2.

35. *Vita Sancti Andreae Sali,* c. 215. The final sentence contains no main verb; *προσοίσει* would seem to be implied.

36. Polyetopoulos, ch. II, p. 52, n. 37. Italics mine.

conflated, but, so far as I can discover, this is the only use of the title "from Arabia" other than in the *Andrew Salos Apocalypse.* It is conceivable, of course, that Polyetopoulos was quoting a late document which had been influenced by the *Andrew Salos Apocalypse,* of which some can be found in Istrin, but it is difficult to see why a title which must have become virtually meaningless should have been copied. On the other hand, the title would be far from meaningless, and indeed would make complete sense if it had originated as the title of a second reign in *Pseudo-Methodius.* Describing the earlier part of the reign of the warrior-king, *Pseudo-Methodius* says:

οὗτος (= ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἑλλήνων ἤτοι Ρωμαίων) ἐξελεύσεται ἐπ' αὐτοὺς (= τοὺς Ἰσμαηλίτες) ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης Αἰθιοπίων καὶ βάλλει ρομφαίαν καὶ ἐρήμωσιν ἕως Ἐθρίμβον ἤτοι εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν καὶ αἰχμαλωτεύσει τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας κατέλθωσιν οἱ υἱοί τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν ρομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐκκόψουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.[37]

When there are two righteous emperors in succession, then it can usually be assumed that the second will be the son of the first. Here it is implied that the first emperor sent his sons in after he had conquered the territory as far as Ethrybum, which is Medina, and Medina is in Arabia. That his eldest son and heir should remain there as a viceroy seems possible, or that he should be granted the title *Arabicus* for his efforts. In either case, he could then be described as "from Arabia."

It may seem that by using only the part of the *Pseudo-Methodius* description of the reign of the warrior-king which tells of his resignation of the crown at Jerusalem, the *Andrew Salos* apocalyptist provides still further evidence of having used a version of that document which contained two reigns, but this evidence is invalid on two scores. First, in the original *Pseudo-Methodius,* the one reign is divided by the coming of Antichrist, and secondly, if the *Andrew Salos* apocalyptist is describing Basil the Macedonian under the guise of the first emperor (as it has been shown that he is[38]), then little or nothing of the *Pseudo-Methodius* description of the first part of the one reign was of any use to him.

* * *

37. Istrin, p. 41 = Sackur, p. 90.
38. Wortley, "Political Significance," pp. 248-63.

The documents belonging the the Tiburtine tradition indicate a more stable text than the interpolated *Daniel* chapter seven; there exist a Latin text (edited by Sackur),[39] and Ethiopic text, and two Arabic texts, all of which have been translated and published by R. Basset.[40] Basically they all purport to contain the explanation given by the 'Tiburtine Sibyl' of an identical vision seen in their sleep by a hundred philosophers at Rome. In all the extant versions, that vision is of nine suns, which the Sibyl interprets as the nine ages of the world; this is probably the unique instance of a nine-*aeon* system. However, Basset quotes an Armenian version of the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian showing that in its original version (which may have been Syriac), the vision was of *seven* suns, the sixth of which ("qui ne se couchait pas comme les autres") the Sibyl explained as the age of Christ.[41] If this statement is true, then the Tiburtine tradition was already extant before *ca.* 500, for, as explained above, the seven-*aeon* system presupposed the dissolution of this world *ca.* A.D. 500, and the inauguration of the "sabbath of rest," the eternal seventh *aeon.* William Bousset claimed that other scholars besides himself had come to the conclusion that the tradition could be traced back to the fourth century,[42] and it is true that the apparent reference to Constantine and Helen quoted above is the last item common to all the versions (though in the Latin text it has been abbreviated: "Exsurgent duo reges et multas facient persecutiones in terram Hebraeorum propter Deum").[43] Bousset also believed that by a comparative study of the extant versions, the original text could by reconstructed,[44] but this has not yet been done.

In the explanations given of the first seven *aeons,* the versions are more or less in agreement; but although they all agree in adding an eighth and a ninth, in the explanation of these last *aeons* there is an almost total absence of agreement. This is a point of some considerable importance for the purposes of this study as the Latin version contains a description of a "rex Graecorum cuius nomen Constans"[45] which very closely resembles the warrior-emperor of *Pseudo-Methodius* who surrenders his crown at Jerusalem. It does not, however, provide any indication that this feature originated in the fourth century, as it is not corroborated in any of the oriental versions, and what is more, the passage in which it occurs has been heavily interpolated with

39. The Latin text, based on an MS tradition going back to 1047 A.D., is in Sackur, pp. 180-86.

40. *Les Apocryphes Ethiopiens,* X.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

42. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* I, 580.

43. Sackur, pp. 180-81.

44. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* I, 580.

45. Sackur, pp. 185-86. It was on the basis of this passage that Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend,* p. 62, thought that the figure of the resigning emperor was older than *Pseudo-Methodius.*

named German emperors. One can only conclude that *Constans* is either a misreading, or that the word is used as an epithet in this context.

The value of the Tiburtine documents for a study of the *Andrew Salos Apocalypse* lies mainly in the explanations of the eighth and ninth suns in the oriental versions. These present a number of features which appear to indicate that their writers shared a common apocalyptic tradition with the *Andrew Salos* apocalyptist, which, like him, they adapted to suit their own purposes. By studying their work, one learns to recognize the features of the common tradition, and what is much more important, to identify the unusual and original features of any given apocalypse; a thorough comparative study of the entire Tiburtine tradition would probably produce the solutions to a number of the many apocalyptic enigmas yet unsolved.

Of the three apocalyptic traditions to which the *Andrew Salos* apocalyptist could have had access, the Tiburtine is least likely to have had any direct influence on him, and indeed as yet there is no reason to suppose that a Greek text of this tradition ever existed. Of the other two traditions, *Pseudo-Methodius* contains a warrior-emperor but no series of reigns; the *Daniel* tradition consists of a series of reigns, but includes no obvious warrior-emperor. The *Andrew Salos Apocalypse* appears to have been the first of several apocalypses in which both the warrior-emperor and a series of reigns are found, but when the Tiburtine tradition has been fully investigated, it will probably emerge that these two features had already been united before the *Andrew Salos Apocalypse* appeared.

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Mary at the Cross: St. Romanos' Kontakion for Holy Friday

Romanos' sublime *kontakion* for Holy Friday was first published a century ago by Cardinal J. B. Pitra,[1] the Benedictine scholar who discovered the great Byzantine poet and established modern *Romanosstudien.* The first editor entitled the *kontakion* "Mary at the Cross." Although a misnomer,[2] this title has been generally accepted by subsequent editors. Pitra was also the first to appreciate the literary qualities of this masterpiece of liturgical poetry: *Flebile Virginis iuxta crucem carmen est, amoenum tamen, haud quadam melodia, neque suavi εὐρυθμία destitutum, immo, ut saepe apud Romanum, dramatica pompa ornatum et eleganti distinctum colloquii varietate.*[3] Since the *editio princeps* of 1876 ten editions[4] of "Mary at the Cross" have appeared, as well as translations into several languages.[5]

In their notes and introductions editors have followed Pitra's lead in commenting on the obvious merits of the *kontakion.* They have referred to the originality, symmetrical form and dramatic structure[6] of what may be Romanos' greatest poem. Nevertheless, a hundred years have passed without the publication of a single study devoted to this *kontakion.*[7] The many complexi-

1. *Analecta Sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata,* ed. J. B. Pitra (Paris: typis Tusculanis, 1876), I, 101-07.
2. See below p. 7.
3. Pitra, I, 101.
4. Listed in *Romanos le Mélode: Hymnes,* ed. and trans. J. Grosdidier de Matons, [hereafter cited as Grosdidier de Matons], 4 vols. (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1964-67), IV, 159-60. All numbers and references in this essay will be to P. Maas and C. A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica: Cantica Genuina* [hereafter Maas-Trypanis.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963-).
5. French translations include those by Dom Hesbert, *Les Plus beaux textes sur la Vierge Marie,* ed. P. Pie Régamey (Paris: La Colombe, Editions du Vieux Colombier, 1942), pp. 74-82; R. R. Khawam, *Romanos le Mélode: Le Christ Rédempteur* (Paris, 1956), pp. 119-38; and Grosdidier de Matons, pp. 161-87. For translations into Italian, English, and Modern Greek, see G. Cammelli, *Romano il Melode Inni* (Firenze: Edizioni "Testi Cristiani," 1930), pp. 337-59; Marjorie Carpenter, *Kontakia of Romanos, Byzantine Melodist,* 2 vols. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1970-73), I, 193-203; C. A. Trypanis, *The Penguin Book of Greek Verse* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), pp. 404-14; and P. A. Sinopoulos, Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελωδοῦ Κοντάκια A (Athinai: Τυπ. Μηνᾶ Μυρτίδου, 1974), pp. 107-19.
6. See for example, Grosdidier de Matons, pp. 143-46; and N. A. Livadaras in N. B. Tomadakes, Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελωδοῦ Ὕμνοι, 3 vols. in 4 (Athinai: Τυπ. Μηνᾶ Μυρτίδου, 1952-57), II, 143-45. [hereafter Livadaras.]
7. See the useful bibliography of K. Mitsakis, Βυζαντινὴ Ὑμνογραφία (Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Center for Patristic Studies-Christian Literature, 1971-), I, 543.

ties and subtleties that are concealed in its deceptively simple design remain unnoticed. Nor have scholars adequately appreciated the grandeur of Romanos' conception of the Crucifixion, the clarity and depth of his vision which encompasses both man and God. Recently hailed as "one of the most exciting achievements of Byzantine literature,"[8] "Mary at the Cross" deserves more attention than it has yet received. In his lyrical drama Romanos, the sacred poet of Justinian's golden age, expressed and communicated Byzantine Christianity's "high dream" of the crucified Christ, the "Divine Physician," who surrendered his own life that the world might live. Along with the truth and power of Romanos' communication the prominence of the *Theotokos* in the poem insured its lasting success in Byzantium. Unlike 20 *On the Passion of Christ,* the other *kontakion* by Romanos for Holy Friday, "Mary at the Cross" influenced later homilies and liturgical poetry of the Eastern Church.[9] Evidence of its popularity is also to be found in the vernacular *threnoi* of later centuries.[10] This *kontakion* survives complete in seven manuscripts.[11] Some of its verses are still sung in Orthodox Churches at the Epitaphios service.[12] In Russia it inspired a special ikonographical type of the Passion known as "Weep not over me, Mother."[13]

Romanos composed "Mary at the Cross" as a metrical sermon to be chanted at the liturgy of Holy Friday, the day when Christendom annually commemorates the Crucifixion. Like the commemoration itself, the *kontakion* is based on scriptural texts. Two of these, Luke 23:27-31 and John 19:25, are specifically related to Romanos' *kontakion* and its theme, Mary and the Crucifixion. Luke records that when Jesus walked to Golgotha, the appointed place of execution, a crowd followed him, including some women *αἳ ἐκόπτοντο καὶ ἐθρήνουν αὐτόν* (23:27). This evangelist, however, does not identify any of the women. John does not describe the same scene as Luke, but a later one. Jesus has been nailed to the cross, and beside it stood three women, *ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ* with her sister and Mary Magdalene. John says nothing about a *threnos.* In neither text is there any suggestion of a dialogue between Mary and Jesus. The circumstances described in these two passages were, however, sufficient to provide Romanos with scriptural authority to sing and interpret

8. Margaret Alexiou, "The Lament of the Virgin in Byzantine Literature and Modern Greek Folk-Song," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies,* 2 (1976), 113. This article is a valuable contribution to the subject.

9. *Ibid.,* pp. 116-20.

10. *Ibid.,* p. 115, n. 11.

11. Listed by Grosdidier de Matons, p. 159.

12. The proem and first strophe are preserved in the *Triodion,* the liturgical service book of the ten weeks preceding Easter.

13. Georgiana Goddard King, "Iconographical Notes on the Passion," *Art Bulletin,* 16 (1934), 296-97.

the Crucifixion through a sensitively imagined dialogue between mother and son.

Already in the fourth and fifth centuries the sorrowing Mother of God had become a subject discussed by the Greek Church Fathers. Among others, Basil the Great[14] and Cyril of Alexandria[15] had interpreted Mary's grief at the cross as the fulfillment of the prophecy made by Symeon in Luke 2:35. When Mary carried the infant Jesus to the temple for the ritual purification,[16] Symeon had predicted that one day a *ῥομφαία* would pierce the mother's heart.

There is, however, nothing extant in patristic writings that can be considered a source for this *kontakion* by Romanos.[17] His conception of the *mater dolorosa* apparently does not depend on earlier sermons.

Nor does it depend on earlier laments of the Virgin. In the fourth century Ephrem Syrus, a compatriot and precursor of Romanos, had composed a poetic lament for the Virgin.[18] Unlike Romanos' *threnos* of the nineteenth *kontakion* the earlier one lacked dramatic dialogue. It consisted entirely of lamentations spoken by the Virgin at the foot of the cross.

Thus Romanos' composition falls within a well-established scriptural and liturgical tradition. Yet at the same time the poet's genius enabled him to create a new poem and lament for the Theotokos. It is the earliest Virgin's lament in Greek which can be dated.[19] Romanos' imagination, intuition, and mastery of form combine to make the nineteenth *kontakion* unique in the long unbroken history of the "Virgin's Lament" in Greek literature.[20]

In formal structure "Mary at the Cross" follows the conventional pattern of the other *kontakia* of Romanos.[21] It begins with a brief *proem* or *kou-*

14. At the end of the long letter, written about 377, he interprets the meaning of Symeon's words. In *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina,* [hereafter *PG.*] ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols in 166 (Paris: Lutetiae, 1857-1866), XXXII, cols. 964-68.

15. *Ibid.,* LXXIV, cols. 661B-64A.

16. The subject of one of Romanos' masterpieces, 4 *On the Presentation in the Temple.* See the study by Eva C. Topping, "A Byzantine Song for Symeon: The Fourth Kontakion of St. Romanos," *Traditio,* [hereafter *T*] 24 (1968), 409-20.

17. The conclusion of R. J. Schork, "The Biblical and Patristic Sources of the Christological Hymns of Romanos the Melodist," unpublished diss. University of Oxford, 1957, p. 303.

18. See Livadaras in Tomadakes, ii, 152-54; Grosdidier de Matons, pp. 144-45. Alexiou, p. 115, n. 10, lists the parallels between the two laments. All these scholars stress the differences between Ephrem and Romanos.

19. The poem was written sometime in the first half of the sixth century. As in the case of most of Romanos' *kontakia,* it is difficult to support a specific date of composition. Cf. Grosdidier de Matons, p. 155.

20. See the exhaustive study by B. Bouvier, *Le Mirologue de la Vierge: Chansons et poèmes grecs sur la Passion du Christ.* I. *La Chanson populaire du Vendredi Saint,* Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana XVI (Roma: Institut Suisse de Rome, 1976-).

21. See the pioneering study of Paul Maas, "Das Kontakion," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* [hereafter *BZ*] 19 (1910), 285-306. A shorter account of this hybrid genre may be found in E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography,* 2nd ed. (Oxford:The Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 179-82.

koulion of four verses, which are composed in a different meter from that of the main body of the *kontakion.* Casting the proem in the form of a liturgical summons or exhortation,[22] the deacon-poet states in the opening line his grand theme and the purpose of the *kontakion:*

Τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς σταυρωθέντα δεῦτε πάντες ὑμνήσωμεν·

Romanos clearly states that his poem is a *hymnos,* an ode praising God.[23] The *kontakion* begins with a *threnos* by Mary,[24] but the lament is subordinated to the poet's hymnic intent.

The *koukoulion* serves the poet as a prologue to the sacred drama[25] which occupies most of the *kontakion.* In it Romanos introduces the two protagonists, and defines the relationship that exists between them. In three brief verses Romanos prepares the poetic stage for the ensuing *agon* between Mary and Jesus.

The refrain, with which every strophe will conclude, appears as the terminal verse of the koukoulion, ὁ υἱὸς καὶ θεός μου. Repeated eighteen times, this refrain expresses the paradox of the relationship that simultaneously binds and separates Mary and Jesus. From the dual relationship springs the tragic tension between mother and son, and the two divergent views and experiences of the Crucifixion, which Romanos explores in this poem. The refrain, like that of 1 *On the Nativity I,* also proclaims the Incarnation, the mystery on which Christian faith is founded.

Mary speaks the refrain seven times. With these five words she addresses her divine son, acknowledging his humanity as well as his divinity. With the same words she declares her love for her child, and cries out in pain against his cruel death. By placing υἱός before θεός Romanos indicates that in her dual relationship to Jesus it is the physical one of maternity that determines her character in this *kontakion* for Holy Friday. The physical bond proves stronger than the spiritual, and decides Mary's reaction to the Crucifixion.

During the dramatic action Jesus speaks the refrain nine times. Pronounced

22. A recurrent protreptic element of the metrical sermon. Similar exhortations appear in the *proemia* of *Cantica* 4, 16, 27.

23. Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge: University Press, 1974), p. 142, incorrectly states that the *proem* is a summons to praise the Mother of God. This important work on the Greek lament will henceforth be cited as Alexiou, *Ritual Lament.*

24. In addition to this *kontakion* Mary figures prominently in *Cantica* 2, 4, 7, 35, 36, and 37, reflecting Romanos' special veneration for the *Theotokos.* He served as deacon in a church dedicated to her in Constantinople. In the well-known hagiographical legend, Mary appears as the sacred poet's heavenly muse. See Eva C. Topping, "St. Romanos the Melodos and His First Nativity Kontakion," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review,* [hereafter *GOTR*] 21 (1976), 233-34, and 242-46.

25. This term does not imply that the *kontakion* was theatrically performed. It merely describes the highly dramatic character of "Mary at the Cross."

by him the words have another emotional coloring. Close to the consummation of his destiny, Jesus rejoices. Both Mary's son *and* the triumphant Savior of mankind, Jesus speaks the refrain joyfully.

The refrain of the nineteenth *kontakion* is never perfunctory. The skillful integration of the refrain into the strophes, the variety of forms that it takes—statements, questions, appeals—and the gamut of feelings that it conveys demonstrate Romanos' technical mastery. Nor does the refrain interrupt the poem's movement. Rather, by the constant restatement of the paradox that Jesus is Mary's son *and* her God, the poet intensifies the reader's awareness of Mary's dilemma.

Seventeen[26] identical strophes, written in another meter, each consisting of ten verses, follow the proem. The initial letters of these strophes form the acrostic ΤΟΥ ΤΑΠΕΙΝΟΥ ῬΩΜΑΝΟΥ.

In the first sixteen strophes (α΄-ις΄) the poet presents a sacred drama of the Crucifixion. Romanos is barely visible, appearing only to give minimal stage directions. In the opening verses (α΄ 1-3) he names the two *personae dramatis,* and gives the physical and psychological setting. He then appears three more times to identify the speakers (δ΄ 1-3, ια΄ 1-2, ιβ΄ 1-2).

Divided into four pairs of speeches, the sixteen strophes of dialogue are distributed unequally. The divine son has nine strophes, two more than his human mother. The first speech is Mary's *threnos* (α΄4-γ΄10) to which Jesus responds in a speech of consolation of precisely the same length (δ΄4-ς΄10). The dramatic action advances in the second *syzygy* in which Mary (ζ΄-η΄) and Jesus (θ΄-ι΄) have two strophes each in which to argue the necessity of the Crucifixion. In the third *syzygy* Mary speaks only eight verses (ια΄ 3-10), while Jesus in three strophes (ιβ΄2-ιδ΄10) hails his death as a victory. The dénouement follows immediately in the fourth pair of speeches equally divided between Mary (ιε΄) and Jesus (ις΄).

The symmetry of this dramatic dialogue and the intensity of the fateful confrontation between mother and son recall the *agon*[27] of ancient Greek tragedy. The drama exists in the characters of Mary and the God-man, Jesus. Within one hundred and sixty verses the Byzantine poet unfolds Christianity's highest drama, the Crucifixion, from two opposite perspectives, the human and the divine. Always the dialogue is vivid, swift and realistic, revealing the emotions and *ethos* of the two protagonists. Recurring echoes of scriptural

26. Another strophe was later inserted between ς΄ and ζ΄ in order to correct the ταπινοῦ of the acrostic by the addition of the letter ε. The problem is discussed by Grosdidier de Matons, IV, 151-55, who correctly rejects the interpolation. For a contrary conclusion, see Livadaras, II, 148-51.

27. For the history and structure of this essentially Greek form, see Jacqueline Duchemin, L'ΑΓΩΝ *dans la tragédie grecque,* 2nd ed. rev., Collection des études anciennes (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1968), pp. 145-59, and 229-34, and the conclusion, 235-38.

language and imagery[28] lend dignity and amplitude to the dialogue.

At the conclusion of the sacred drama Romanos reappears to speak an epilogue, performing the last of his liturgical functions in the kontakion.[29] In the proem, he had addressed his congregation, urging them to join him in a hymn to the crucified Jesus. The hymn was cast into the shape of a lyrical drama,[30] which now requires a lyric finale. Although Romanos' *kontakia* usually end with a liturgical prayer pronounced by the poet,[31] the nineteenth *kontakion* concludes with a hymn (ιϛ΄).[32] To the last verse the deacon-poet carries out the hymnic purpose which he had announced in the first verse of the proem. The larger *hymnos* ends with a smaller one, a lyric intensification of the preceding sixteen strophes of dialogue. In it Romanos addresses the divine hero of his drama. Antitheses, alliteration, anaphora and elevated diction create the hieratic magnificence of the final strophe:

> *Υἱὲ τῆς παρθένου, θεὲ τῆς παρθένου*
> *καί τοῦ κόσμου ποιητά, σὸν τὸ πάθος,*
> *σὸν τὸ βάθος τῆς σοφίας·*
>
> . . . .
>
> *σὺ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἦρας ὡς ἀμνός·*
> *σὺ ταύτας νεκρώσας τῇ σφαγῇ σου,*
>
> *ὁ σωτήρ, ἔσωσας πάντας·*
>
> ιϛ΄ 1-2, 5-6

Romanos lends his inspired voice to the church to sing the praises of Mary's son, the crucified Savior. Thus the poet-priest completes his *leitourgia* in the celebration of the Crucifixion.

Romanos prefaces Mary's *threnos* with three brief verses (α΄ 1-3) in which he describes the physical and emotional ambience of the encounter between Mary and her son. Contrary to the title of the *kontakion,* the scene is not at

28. Schork, pp. 304-07, has identified the sources in both the Old and New Testaments.

29. The deacon-poet sings God's praises and interprets His ways. For a discussion of the sacred poet's mediation between man and God, consult Eva C. Topping, "The Poet-Priest in Byzantium," *GOTR,* 14 (1969), 31-41.

30. By the dramatic dialogue Romanos conveys the *kerygma* of this metrical sermon. Polemics are entirely lacking, and theology is inconspicuous. Here Romanos is a poet, not a preacher.

31. See for example the final strophes of *Cantica* 4, 7, 8, and 16.

32. Because the hymnic conclusion is the exception, Mitsakis, p. 223, and Schork, p. 303, failed to recognize ιϛ΄ as a hymn. On the other hand, Alexiou, *Ritual Lament,* p. 143, and Livadaras, II, 147, identify it as praise and *encomium.*

the cross.[33] The encounter occurs on the way to the cross. Mary and Jesus talk as they walk, as the repetition of "road" and "walking" images makes clear. Prominent in the first strophe, (*α'* 4-8), these words are scattered throughout the *kontakion* to sustain the image of physical movement that was introduced by *ἠκολούθει* (*α'* 2) in the poet's first stage direction. *συνέρχομαι* occurs in the first and last speeches (*α'* 7, *ις'* 1). In addition, verbs like *τρέχω* (*η'* 8, *ιδ'* 7) and *σπεύδω* (*α'* 6, *ιδ'* 2) quicken the external movement[34] which parallels the *agon* conducted by mother and son. The poem, the dramatic tension and the *dromos* to the cross share one quick pace. When the conflict between Mary and Jesus reaches the climax, the road becomes shorter, the speeches briefer, and the poem ends. To read this *kontakion* is to join the walk to the cross and to overhear the tense dialogue.

To describe the pathos of Mary's situation Romanos borrowed the sacrificial imagery of Isaiah 53:7. A mother helplessly watches while her son, meek and unresisting as a lamb, is dragged to his death. A medical term, *τρυχομένη*,[35] suggests that Mary is already on the point of collapse. The initial position of *ἴδιον*, the assonance and juxtaposition of the emotive words *ἄρνα ἀμνὰς* accentuate the intimate bond that ties the mourner to the victim. From the same prophet comes the brutal word *σφαγή*, commonly used in Scriptures of the slaughter of sheep. Repeated[36] again along with another noun of violent death, *φόνος* (*γ'* 1), it emphasizes the inhuman violence of the death which Jesus faces,[37] and which causes Mary's unbearable pain. With these images Romanos prepares the reader for the passion of Mary's *threnos* and her unsuccessful attempt to save her son from his fate.

Mary expresses her anguish in the lament of *α'* 4-*γ'* 10. Carefully structured after the triadic pattern of the traditional lament for the dead,[38] her *threnos* contains the conventional images of "journey" and "light",[39] and the *topoi* of apostrophe[40] and the contrast between the present and the past.[41]

33. A discrepancy within the text is responsible for the error. In the *proem* Mary is described standing *ἐπὶ ξύλου*, whereas in the *kontakion* proper it is clear that Mary and Jesus are walking *to* the cross.

34. In addition to this horizontal movement there is reference also to vertical movement: Jesus's descent from heaven to earth, *κατῆλθον* *ς'* 2, *ιδ'* 2 and his descent from earth into Hades, *ιγ'* 2.

35. Borrowed from medical vocabulary, this verb introduces the major metaphorical pattern of this *kontakion.* See H. G. Liddle and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1968), s.v.

36. *η'* 8, *ιξ'* 6.

37. Romanos nowhere mitigates the pain suffered by Jesus on the cross: see *πάσχω* (*δ'* 5, 9, *ς'* 7, *η'* 3, *ιγ'* 9, *ιδ'* 6, 8, *ιξ'* 4, 7); *πάθος* (*ς'* 1, 9, *ζ'* 5, *ιγ'* 9, *ιξ'* 2); and references to the cross (Pr. 1, 2, *β'* 9, *δ'* 7, *ιγ'* 7, *ιε'* 2, 8).

38. See the analysis and diagram of Alexiou, *Ritual Lament,* pp. 142-45.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 187-90.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-34, and 142-45.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-71.

In each of the three sections of the lament the sorrowing mother addresses Jesus, repeatedly calling him τέκνον (α'4, 7, β'1, γ'1, 8). Although with each repetition of the refrain she acknowledges that her child is also her God, Mary reacts solely as a mother as she faces the imminent death of Jesus.

Utterly bewildered by what is happening, Mary begins her lament with a series of questions (α'4-7) filled with her pain. She cannot understand why Jesus has been condemned to death on the cross. Nor can she understand why he does not resist. In desperation she asks first,[42]

> *Ποῦ πορεύῃ τέκνον; τίνος χάριν τὸν ταχὺν*
> *δρόμον τελέεις;* α'4

The mother finds the *dromos* too short, no longer than the short words of her questions. With the repeated "t" sounds the poet suggests Mary's throbbing pain and fears as she walks beside her silent son.[43]

Into the second part of the lament (β' 1-7) is incorporated the *topos,* the contrast between past happiness and present sorrow. Mary's distraught mind recalls an earlier *odos* (β' 5) strewn with palms for her son's recent triumphant arrival in Jerusalem. Still hearing the acclamations that had greeted Jesus, she is stunned by the sudden reversal from the royal welcome to the criminal's death awaiting Jesus at the end of the *dromos.* She had never imagined that rejection would soon replace the acceptance of Palm Sunday:[44]

> *οὐδ' ἐπίστευον ποτὲ ἕως τούτου τοὺς ἀνόμους ἐκμανῆναι*
> *καὶ ἐκτεῖναι ἐπὶ σὲ χεῖρας ἀδίκως·*
>
> β' 2-3

The second section of the *threnos* ends with a piercing cry from the stricken mother. Romanos employs traditional imagery for Mary's sorrow:

> *γνῶναι θέλω, οἴμοι, πῶς τὸ φῶς μου σβέννυται,*
>
> β'8

42. Grosdidier de Matons, p. 160, n. 3, sees here an allusion to II Timothy 4.7.

43. With a pun Mary asks Jesus to speak to her: δός μοι λόγον, Λόγε (α'8). Similar puns occur in 4 ιδ'6, 16 β'3, and 20 ϛ'1.

44. The subject of Romanos' lyrical sixteenth *kontakion.* See my article "Romanos, On the Entry into Jerusalem: *A Basilikos Logos,*" *Byzantion,* 47 (1977), 65-91.

The loss of her child means darkness for the mother.[45]

In the final third (γ ') of the *threnos* Mary returns once more to the present, the ἄδικον φόνον (γ ' 1) of her son. With a mother's intuition she concentrates on Jesus' loneliness. To her loving heart this seems the cruelest aspect of his undeserved suffering. Because even his disciples have deserted him, Jesus walks to his death alone. Negative words and mournful "o" and "ou" sounds echo Mary's grief.[46] She bitterly quotes the disciples who had sworn fidelity to their teacher:

καὶ οὐδείς σοι συναλγεῖ· οὐ συνέρχεταί σοι

Πέτρος ὁ εἰπών σοι·

'οὐκ ἀρνοῦμαι σέ ποτέ, κἂν ἀποθνήσκω·'

γ ' 2-3

At the end of the lament Mary weeps for her son, abandoned by his friends to die alone, θνήσκεις, τέκνον, μόνος (γ '8).

Structured and formal though it is, Romanos' lament for Mary expresses genuine maternal grief. The poet imposes artistic form on Mary's uncontrolled weeping and sorrow.[47] To appreciate fully Romanos' deeply moving composition one may compare it with the frigidly rhetorical *threnos* written by Symeon Metaphrastes[48] in the tenth century. Always interested in the personality and inner experience of his characters,[49] Romanos establishes in the *threnos* the complete humanity of God's mother. Mary is an ordinary woman[50] lamenting the harsh unjust fate of a beloved child. First she weeps. Then she dries her tears and tries to save her child. Although in several other *kontakia*[51] Romanos represents Mary as a luminous, almost divine figure, raised above common humanity because she is the Theotokos, in the nineteenth *kontakion* he depicts her simply as a woman, a mother overwhelmed by grief. In her words, too, the universal human heart protests ingratitude, injustice, violence.

45. The same light imagery is used by Sarah in her lament for Issac, 41 ι' 4-5.

46. γ ' 1-5, 7-8.

47. Described in δ '1-2, ε '3, ϛ '1-2.

48. *PG*, CXIV, cols. 209-17. See the comments of Alexiou, *Ritual Lament*, p. 65.

49. In 10 δ ' 1 Romanos confesses his typically Byzantine interest in character: τὴν φρένα τῆς σοφῆς ἐρευνῆσαι ἤθελον. For perceptive comments on the fascination of *ethos* for the Byzantine mind, see G. L. Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric*, Analecta Blatadon, 17 (Thessaloniki, 1973), pp. 44-56.

50. Livadaras, II, 44, remarks on the *laïkos character* of the *Theotokos*. Mary appears also as a plain woman of the people in 1 κδ '6-7.

51. See particularly the hymns for the Nativity and Annunciation, 1, 2, 36, and 37.

Above all, she expresses man's fear of death.

Jesus answers Mary's *threnos* with a speech (δ ′ 4-ις ′ 10) of consolation, *paramythia.* It corresponds to hers in length and triadic structure.[52] It too is prefaced (δ ′ 1-3) by Romanos. Introducing the second speaker, he reemphasizes the mother-son relationship between the two protagonists:

ἐπεστράφη

πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ ἐξ αὐτῆς οὕτω βοήσας·

δ ′ 2-3

Throughout Jesus shows filial tenderness for the weeping woman. He repeatedly calls her *μήτηρ* (δ ′ 4, 8, ε ′ 1, ς ′ 8), thereby recognizing the physical bonds which the poet made explicit in his introduction. The son understands his mother's grief, and admits the injustice of his death. But at the same time, being God, he views his suffering and death as the culmination of his redemptive mission on earth.

With Jesus' first speech the *agon* begins between Mary and her son. Parallel in function to the *threnos,* it establishes Jesus' *ethos.* Romanos transmutes into poetry orthodox Christological dogma. Mary's son is perfect God and man, spirit and flesh. It is his divinity which creates the tension between himself and his mother.

Like Mary in her lament,[53] Jesus begins with a series of questions:

"*Τί δακρύεις, μήτηρ; τί ταῖς ἄλλαις γυναιξί συναποφέρῃ;*

μὴ πάθω; μὴ θάνω; πῶς οὖν σώσω τόν 'Αδάμ;"

δ ′ 4-5

With gentle irony he uses some of Mary's own words:[54] *σώσω* repeats her *ἔσωσας* (γ ′ 8). The difference in tense symbolizes their opposing perspectives. Mary's vision is finite, limited to the past and the particular. Looking backward she believes that Jesus has already accomplished his soteriological destiny. He, however, looks ahead in the knowledge that only by his death can he save all of creation. Likewise, he repeats (δ ′ 7) Mary's *ἀδίκως* (β ′ 3), immedi-

52. Cf. Alexiou, *Ritual Lament,* p. 143.

53. Her first four verses (α ′ 4-7) contain four questions.

54. This device, familiar from ancient tragedy, recurs throughout the dialogue. E.g., γ ′ 8 *θνήσκεις*, δ ′ 5 *θάνω*; β ′ 9 *σταυρῷ*, δ ′ 7 *σταυροῦμαι*; ε ′ 8 *τρέχων*, η ′ 8 *τρέχεις*; ε ′ 7 *δούλους*, η ′ 7 *δουλεύει*; α ′ 4 *τελέεις*, ιδ 3 *ἐκτελέσει*.

ately qualifying it with the explanation that his willingness to die[55] transforms the injustice into a redemptive act. Mary therefore should not weep but rather proclaim

ὅτι ʽθέλων ἔπαθεν,

ὁ υἱός και θεός μου. δ' 9-10

The counterpoint between the first two speeches continues into the second section of Jesus' speech. Now Jesus, too, looks back to the past. In Strophe ε he tries to banish his mother's grief by reminding her of the most joyful event in her own past, the Annunciation. When the archangel Gabriel addressed her with a *ῥῆμα χαρᾶς* (37, ϛ' 1), she had consented to become the mother of God. Reminding her of her singular role in the Incarnation, Jesus therefore urges Mary to transcend her selfish human grief which is incompatible with her exalted position as the Mother of God:

οὐ γὰρ πρέπει σοι θρηνεῖν, ὅτι κεχαριτωμένη ὠνομάσθης·

ε' 2

When he describes Mary's glorious motherhood, Jesus addresses her not as "mother" but with hieratic titles, *κόρη* (ε '4) and *σεμνή* (ε '8, ς '5).

In her lament Mary had recalled the joyful occasion of the wedding at Cana (*α*' 5-6). Now Jesus uses nuptial imagery (ε '4-6) in his response. With this imagery Romanos indicates the mystic joy which the divine son offers his human mother. In place of ephemeral joys and sorrows Jesus offers Mary eternal happiness with the divine bridegroom,[56] who is her own son. Her senseless grief, he argues, demeans Mary and prevents her from realizing her radiant destiny as the queen of the universe, and the spirit of Christian joy.[57]

In the final strophe (ς ') Jesus returns to the subject of his imminent death. Unlike Mary who finds the day of the Crucifixion *πικράν* (ς ' 1)—the first word of this strophe—Jesus regards it with joy:

55. This theme is continued in ς '9, ιδ '4, ιϛ '4. See also 16 β'3, 6, 7, and 2 ιϛ '1, ιη' 2.

56. Nuptial imagery is associated with Holy Week which in the Orthodox Chruch opens with the *'Ακολουθία τοῦ Νυμφίου.*

57. So the *Theotokos* appears in 1 ς '3-ϛ '10 and 2 β '7-11, ι'7-11, ια '7-11.

δι' αὐτὴν γὰρ ὁ γλυκὺς οὐρανόθεν νῦν κατῆλθον

ὡς τὸ μάννα. 58

ϛ' 2

God became man in Mary's womb in order to save mankind. Because this sacrificial death, the supreme act of divine love or *philanthropia,* completes God's life on earth, this day is one of rejoicing for Jesus. The first exchange between Mary and Jesus which began with a lament thus concludes with Jesus' ode of exaltation:

ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑπάρχω, ὅτι λόγος ὢν ἐν σοι

σὰρξ ἐγενόμην·

ἐν ταύτῃ οὖν πάσχω, ἐν ταύτῃ και σῴζω·

μὴ οὖν κλαίῃς, μῆτερ· μᾶλλον κράξον ἐν χαρᾷ·

'θέλων πάθος δέχεται

ὁ υἱὸς καί θεός μου.'

ϛ' 6-10

By the end of the first *syzygy* the poet has adroitly initiated the dramatic tension that inevitably results from the conflicting claims of human and divine love. The antagonists are united by the strongest possible earthly bonds, and divided by the absolute demands of divinity. Mary and Jesus belong to two different realms of reality. Hence the *ῥομφαία* in the mother's heart.

The second *syzygy* (ζ'-ι') follows without interruption. Mary's impassioned speech (ζ'-η') shows that although she has heard her son's words, she has not understood them. The mother cannot accept the fact that her child's divine destiny requires his suffering and death. Far from assuaging her grief, Jesus' words have aroused new fears and pain. Mary no longer weeps. Wiping away her tears (ζ' 1-2), she argues desperately in an effort to persuade Jesus to spare his life. Here she is the human mother even more intensely than in her *threnos.* Heightened terms of endearment–*σπλάγχνον* (ζ' 4), and *ζωή μου*

58. Through "Exodus" typology Romanos draws a parallel between the salvation of Israel in the old dispensation and that of the whole world in the new. The falling of the manna in the desert (Exodus 16:16-19) foreshadows God's descent in the flesh.

(η ′2)–measure the depths of her maternal anguish and love.

In twenty-two verses Romanos now portrays a mother's valiant battle for the life of her child. That Mary's opponent is her child and her God makes her unequal struggle all the more poignant. She begins her argument by challenging directly Jesus' major premise:

τί μοι λέγεις, σπλάγχνον· 'εἰ μὴ θάνω, ὁ Ἀδὰμ

οὐχ ὑγιαίνει'; ς′ 4

From the past–Mary's anguished mind is always seeking comfort in yesterdays–she finds evidence to disprove Jesus' contentions. She recalls specifically cases of miraculous cures which Jesus had performed without any suffering on his part. The repeated negatives[59] in these verses carry the weight of her frantic insistence that he can now heal Adam without pain to himself:

λέπρον γὰρ καθῆρας και οὐκ ἤλγησας οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἠβουλήθης·

παράλυτον σφίγξας οὐ κατεπονήθης·

ς′ 6-7

When he had healed the leper, the blind and the lame, his word and will had sufficed. By these examples Mary seeks to convince Jesus that Adam's cure does not necessitate his *pathos.*

In the next strophe (η ′) Mary advances to the subject of death, the real terror striking her heart. *νεκρός*(1, *bis.*), *τάφος* (2,5,6), *θάνατος* (9) evoke her dread of Jesus' death. Again, Mary's argument and hopes are based on a repetition of the past. She insists that Adam, like Lazaros,[60] can be raised from the dead without Jesus dying:

εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τάφῳ κατεχώσθη ὁ 'Αδάμ,

ὡς Λάζαρον τάφου ἐξανέστησας φωνῇ, οὕτως καὶ τοῦτον·

δουλεύει σοι πάντα ὡς πλάστῃ τῶν πάντων·

η′ 5-7

59. ς′3-7, 9, η′1-3. Mary seeks to impose her own negative view of the Crucifixion on her son.

60. The raising of Lazaros is the subject of two *kontakia* by Romanos, 14 and 15. The figure of *Christus medicus* appears in 14 γ′2.

Intent on saving her son's life, Mary in effect asks Jesus to renounce his divinity, to act like a man, motivated solely by self-interest. God should use his power to save himself, the mother pleads. God's human mother comprehends her son's omnipotence,[61] but not his *philanthropia.* Even as Mary tries to prevent Jesus from becoming the savior of the world, she ironically calls him *σωτήρ* (*η* ′ 4). Mary's love, Romanos implies, is the last temptation of the God-man. Had Jesus yielded to his mother on the way to the cross, he would have denied his godhead, foreclosing the full revelation of divine love, and the reconciliation of heaven and earth.

Romanos' sustained imagination carries the reader even further into Mary's agony. Before she has finished her argument, she senses that she has failed to persuade Jesus. Suddenly a new terrifying suspicion enters Mary's mind. She expresses it directly, almost as an accusation, in the final words of this speech:

τί οὖν τρὲχεις τὲκνον; μὴ ἐπείγου πρὸς σφαγήν·

μὴ φιλῇς τὸν θάνατον,

ὁ ψυήνκαι θεός μου.

η ′ 8-10

Confronting the reality that Jesus accepts his death, Mary utters the brutal word *σφαγή* with which Romanos had introduced her first speech (*α* ′2).

Were Romanos the "médiocre psychologue"[62] he has been described, he could not have written either the *threnos* or this second speech of Mary's. Only a sensitive poet with sympathy for the human heart and condition could have created this portrait of Mary on the way to the cross with her son. Better than the Evangelist Luke Romanos understood the pathos and tragic irony of Mary's fate. No poet has written more profoundly and more poetically about Mary's experience, when the *ῥομφαία* predicted by Symeon pierced her heart on the day of her son's Crucifixion. On that day grief banished the joy of the Annunciation and the Nativity, when Mary first encountered God.

The *agon* is continued by Jesus' second speech (*ϑ* ′-*ι* ′), his second attempt to communicate to Mary the meaning of divine love. He begins patiently, *Οὐκ οἶδας, ὦ μῆτερ, οὐκ οἶδας τί λέγω* (*ϑ* ′ 1). In contrast to the despair of Mary's preceding speech, serenity marks Jesus' response. Keeping the medical image-

61. Using words from Jesus's speech in which he reminded her that she is the queen of the universe (*ε* ′7-8), Mary ironically reminds her son that *he* is the all powerful universal lord.

62. The opinion of Grosdidier de Matons, p. 59, in his introduction to 17 *On Judas.*

ry of Mary's speech, he explains why he is willing to die on the cross. The reason is not, as she fears, love of death. Rather, it is love of ailing mankind.

Mother and son use identical words and mean different things. While Mary speaks exclusively of curing bodily ills, Jesus the *ἰατρός* from heaven is more concerned with man's spiritual ailments. Adam is ill *καὶ τὴν ψυχήν* (ϑ'5). From ϑ'4 to ι'6 medical imagery is sustained, when Jesus reviews the case history of man's spiritual sickness. Man's *νόσος* began with the first disobedience in the Garden of Eden.[63] Consequently Adam and Eve became ill, died and now mourn together in Hades *τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς πόνον*[64] (ι'3).

Here again Jesus' speech is in counterpoint to Mary's. She had cited the ills of three persons who were healed by Jesus in the past. Jesus' vision, however, goes back to the beginning of creation and embraces the illness of all humanity. Mary's grief restricts her concern to her son and herself, to the present and the immediate past. In contrast, Jesus' love and self-giving open his spirit to all time and to the universe.

In conclusion (ι'7-10) Jesus expresses again the hope that his mother has at last understood him. Again, he reminds her of her true vocation as the mother of God. Liberated from her personal sorrow, Mary would assume her high role of intercession, mediating in behalf of mankind before the throne of God.[65] Jesus extends to his grieving mother a joyous alternative, which she, however, rejects.

At the conclusion of the second *syzygy*, there is a slight pause in the dramatic action, as the poet reappears to introduce the next *persona dramatis.* With the sacrificial imagery of α'1 Romanos reiterates Mary's helplessness;

ἡ ἀμώμητος ἀμνάς,[66] *ἀπεκρίθη πρὸς τὸν ἄρνα.*

ια'2

The pause also symbolizes the impasse in which mother and son find themselves. Spiritually isolated from each other, they continue to walk and talk on the way to the cross. Mary's human sorrow bars her from sharing the fulfillment of her divine son; divine love precludes Jesus from yielding to human selfishness.

63. In ϑ'4-6. Thus Romanos expands the perspective of the *kontakion* beyond the immediate dramatic action.

64. Repeated by Jesus in his third speech (ιβ'4), this word is the standard technical term for "pain" in the Hippocratic corpus. See Liddell and Scott, s.v.

65. Mary's grief interrupts her role of intercession. For Romanos' conception of Mary's *presbeia,* see 1 ς'-ζ', ϑ', κβ'-κδ', and 2 ι'8, ιβ'5-11.

66. Already in the fifth century a part of Marian imagery. See for example, Proclus of Constantinople, in *PG,* XXXII, col. 712A.

The third *syzygy* (ια΄-ιδ΄) opens with the briefest speech in the entire dialogue. It belongs to Mary. Emotionally and physically exhausted by her sorrow and failure to convince Jesus, she is able to speak only a few words(ια΄3-10). This time she makes no comment or argument. From her formal, hieratic address, Κύριέμου (ια΄2), the first words, the reader learns that Mary knows she has lost her battle to save Jesus' life. Knowing her son's death is now certain, she asks one hesitant question, βλέψω σε πάλιν (ια΄6). She has no interest in the healing of Adam and Eve, only in her own bereavement. To convey Mary's total absorption in her anguish[67] Romanos crowds into this speech of eight verses ten verbs and four pronouns in the first person singular.

To preserve the symmetry of form Romanos again introduces the next *persona dramatis.* In this introduction (ιβ΄ 1-2) he juxtaposes Mary and Jesus, woman and God. A spacious hymnic phrase—ὁ πάντα γινώσκων πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν—identifies Jesus; a single word—Μαρίαν—identifies her. Although they still walk and talk together, Mary and Jesus are irrevocably estranged. The son reaches towards heaven, while the mother remains fixed in her sorrow to the earth. Romanos further indicates the estrangement between mother and son by the asymmetry of the *syzygy.* In contrast to the other three *syzygies* in which the speeches are of equal length, here Mary is assigned one strophe, Jesus three (ιβ΄-ιδ΄).

Jesus responds to Mary's request with filial tenderness. He assures her that she will be the first to see him after his resurrection. Although this speech, like the others, is addressed to her,[68] it is almost a soliloquy, so intense is Jesus' absorption now in his death and resurrection. This speech shows that Jesus' soul is already far removed from Mary. Already the "Divine Physician"[69] has descended into the land of the dead to restore Adam and Eve to new health and life. Like the Good Shepherd[70] of the parable, the "Divine Physician" lays down his own life to save his patients. In technical medical language[71] Jesus describes his descent into Hades. In the hands of the *iatros*

67. My interpretation differs from that of Grosdidier de Matons, p. 154, and Alexiou, *Ritual Lament,* pp. 63 and 143, who believe that Mary gradually and painfully accepts the necessity of the Crucifixion.

68. He repeatedly addresses her as mother, ιβ΄2, 7, ιγ΄1, 8, ιδ΄1, 7, in each of the three strophes of his speech.

69. For bibliography on this familiar and beloved figure consult R. Arbesmann, "The Concept of 'Christus Medicus' in St. Augustine," *T,* 10 (1954), 1-28. This figure appears in many of Romanos' *kontakia.* Cf. R. J. Schork, "The Medical Motif in the Kontakia of Romanos the Melodist," *ibid.,* 16 (1960), 353-63.

70. In a speech, 16 ια΄-ιβ΄, parallel to this, Jesus speaks as the Good Shepherd and describes his sacrificial death.

71. A comparable passage, 54 ιβ΄, has led D. G. Demetrainas, in Tomadakes (see above, fn. 6), I, 104, to the conclusion that Romanos possessed professional medical knowledge. It is, however, more likely that Romanos was a typical, educated Byzantine of his time and was conversant with medical terminology. For the practice of medicine at that period, see H. J. Magoulias, "The Lives of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries, *BZ,* 57 (1964), 127-50.

from heaven the implements of pain and death—the nails, spear and cross—are transformed into instruments of healing. On the threshold of death, Jesus anticipates the joy[72] of the resurrection, the healing of Adam and Eve.

This exultant speech ends on a note of triumph. Final victory lies in the Crucifixion. By his death on the cross the "Divine Physician" crushes death, man's old enemy. Love triumphs over hate and selfishness, the spirit over the flesh. What is an ordeal for Mary is victory for her son. For the last time now Jesus tries to associate his mother with the joy of his fulfillment:

> *δραμοῦσα*[73] *οὖν, μῆτερ, ἀνάγγειλον πᾶσιν*
>
> *ὅτι· 'πάσχων πλήττει τὸν μισοῦντα τὸν 'Αδὰμ*
>
> *καὶ νικήσας*[74] *ἔρχεται*
>
> *ὁ υἱὸς και θεός μου.* ιδ' 7-10

Manifestly, Jesus now has moved to a world beyond his mother's reach and comprehension. The *agon* is over and Jesus is eager to complete his chosen *dromos.* Borrowing *σπεύδω* from Mary's first (*α*'6) speech, he tells her:

> *καὶ πορεύου ἐν χαρᾷ· ἐγὼ γὰρ δι' ὃ κατῆλθον*
>
> *ἤδη σπεύδω*
>
> *ἐκτελέσαι τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ πέμψαντός με·*
>
> ιδ' 2-3

But Mary, lost in her grief, stands apart, untouched by Jesus' Paschal vision.

In her lament Mary had cried out that she wanted to know—*γνῶναι θέλω* (*β*'8)—why her son had to die on the cross. In his first three speeches Jesus tried to communicate that *gnosis* to her. *Gnosis* is Jesus' purpose in the *agon.* In his first speech Jesus calls Mary *πάνσοφε* (*ε*'4), and begs her not to mourn like the *ἀσυνέτοις* (*ε*'4). The theme is most prominent in his second speech: *ἄνοιξον τὸν νοῦν* (*ϑ*'2); *νόει* (*ϑ*'3); *γνωρίζεις* (*ϑ*'7); *συνῆκας* and *ἐπέγνως*

72. Repeated from ς' 8 in Jesus's first speech, *χαρά* occurs twice in this speech, ιβ'3, ιδ'2.

73. Jesus repeats this from ια'8 in Mary's preceding speech.

74. This paschal theme also appears in 16 α'1-2, 20 ϛ'1-4, 25 κ'8.

(ι' 8). In his third speech Jesus tells Mary he wishes her to sing *συνετῶς*[75] (ιγ'8).

Mary, however, fails to achieve understanding of her divine son, and thus becomes a tragic figure. She cannot sing; she can only lament. Blinded by maternal love, she could not "open her spirit" to the *gnosis* which would have united her with her son, and resurrected her from fear of death into eternal life and joy.

The dénouement of the sacred drama comes in strophes ιε'-ις'. Mary speaks first. Her last speech (ις') is as desolate as her first. She seems not to have heard any of Jesus' long speech, except for the last sentence where he proclaims himself *νικήσας* (ιδ '9). With conscious irony she uses the same verb of herself, repeating it twice in the opening sentence of her reply:

'Νικῶμαι, ὦ τέκνον, νικῶμαι τῷ πόθῳ.

ιε' 1

To the end of their dialogue mother and son use the same words but with unreconciled differences in meaning. Claiming victory over death, Jesus uses *νικάω* in the active voice. Confessing herself defeated by her love for Jesus, Mary uses it in the passive voice. By this contrast Romanos symbolizes the tragic consequences of Mary's dual relationship to Jesus. Because of his *philanthropia*[76] Jesus triumphs over suffering and death. Because of maternal love Mary is condemned to sorrow and separation from her son and her God.

Themes and words from the lament reappear in Mary's last speech, evidence that the *agon* between her and Jesus had not changed her. Again, she attacks those responsible for Jesus' death (β' 2-6, ιε' 5-8). Her last request of Jesus is identical to the first. She uses the same verb (α' 7). Mary wishes to accompany Jesus on his *dromos.* She clings tenaciously to his physical presence:

ἄφες οὖν συνέλθω· θεραπεύει γὰρ ἐμέ τό θεωρεῖν σέ.

ιε' 4

συνέλθω expresses the essence of Mary's tragedy. She walks with her son and yet is not with him. In her lament Mary had condemned the disciples who

75. Found also in 59 ς' 1, this phrase comes from Psalm 46:8. It perfectly expresses Romanos' purpose in the nineteenth *kontakion.*

76. This noun and its related epithet are missing from this hymn to Christ *philanthropos,* in which Romanos presents him dramatically instead of descriptively.

had abandoned Jesus to suffer and die alone. Now she too abandons him, since she cannot accept his sacrificial death. In the end, the words of her lament come tragically true:

θνήσκεις, τέκνον, μόνος, ἀνθ' ὧν πάντας ἔσωσας.

γ' 8

She who loved Jesus most also failed him.

In the final strophe (ις') Jesus tells his mother to come with him, but she must not weep. The *agon* is finished and Jesus makes no further attempt to win Mary's understanding. Instead Jesus describes to her how nature will react to the death of its Creator:[77]

τὸ γὰρ τόλμημα δονεῖ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν·

πόλος ἐκτυφλοῦται καὶ οὐκ ἀνοίγει ὀφθαλμόν,

ἕως ἂν εἴπω·

ἡ γῆ σὺν θαλάσσῃ τότε σπεύσουσι φυγεῖν·

ναὸς τὸν χιτῶνα ῥήξει τότε κατὰ τῶν ταῦτα τολμώντων·

τὰ ὄρη δονοῦνται, οἱ τάφοι κενοῦνται.

ις' 3-7

With these apocalyptic images of universal upheaval Romanos magnifies the Crucifixion. In the sacred drama the poet-priest had viewed it from the perspective of Mary and Jesus. Now Romanos implicates the whole universe in the death of Mary's son and God. Earth, sun, sea and mountains add cosmic grandeur[78] to the crucified Jesus.

The sacred drama concludes with a final address by the son to his mother. From his apocalyptic vision Jesus turns once more to Mary. With sympathy he speaks to the grieving woman walking beside him:

77. See η'7, ιζ'2.

78. See also 20 Pr. I, α'1-8, 17 α'4-8, 28 ι'1-6. Nature's sympathetic response is a *topos* of the ritual lament for heroes and gods. Cf. Alexiou, *Ritual Lament,* p. 60. It is interesting to note that the *philanthropos* Titan in Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound, 1080-93, also describes in his last words nature's reaction to his suffering.

ὅταν ἴδῃς ταῦτα, ἐὰν πτήξῃς ὡς γυνή,

κράξον πρός με· 'ἐφείσαι μου,

ὁ υἱός και θεός μου.' ις´ 8-10

So ends the dialogue that had begun with Mary's *threnos.* The last words belong to the "Divine Physician", her son.

From "Mary at the Cross" emerge two ikons, one of a woman, the other of God. Throughout this *kontakion* Romanos juxtaposes Mary and Jesus in contrast to each other. Because death frightens Mary, she mourns; Jesus accepts death and rejoices. She finds comfort in the past; he anticipates change and renewal in the future. Mary confines love to her son; Jesus' love embraces the universe. With this antinomy Romanos creates two images of love in the persons of the *philanthropos* Creator and his human mother. The cross challenges both. Jesus accepts its pain and attains heaven; Mary by rejecting it remains rooted to the earth.

In the *agon* Mary and Jesus demand of each other a renunciation. Jesus attempts to persuade Mary to renounce her narrow maternity, to extend her love to all mankind. Clinging to the child of her womb, Mary, in turn, seeks to persuade Jesus to renounce his divinity, to narrow his love to self. Neither persuades the other. Mary continues to grieve, and Jesus dies on the cross and triumphs over death. In Jesus, τόν δι' ἡμᾶς σταυρωθέντα, Romanos, Byzantium's genius poet, reveals the majesty and power of divine love.

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The Preatorian Prefect Anthemius: Position and Policies

I. *Introduction*

In comparing the reigns of Arcadius and Theodosius II, Bury has pointed out that to an objective observer in the reign of Arcadius it must have appeared that the Eastern Roman Empire was destined to decline rapidly.[1] Yet Constantinople was to survive the storm of the fifth century while Rome did not. The reasons for this, of course, are quite complicated; but it is interesting to note that as distinguished a historian as Bury maintained that the ministers of Theodosius II were largely responsible for this unexpected phenomenon. Although Theodosius himself was undistinguished, the prudent guidance of his ministers, beginning with Anthemius, reversed the trend of the preceding years. If, then, the competent government of this period is attributed to his ministers rather than Theodosius, substantial credit must be given, as Bury does, to Anthemius as the source of this tradition.

A number of problems about this crucial period remain unsolved. Socrates is the only source to mention that Anthemius served as regent.[2] Many of the chroniclers dealing with these years do not even mention him at all. For this reason some scholars have suggested that a group, rather than Anthemius alone, governed the empire.

Gibbon has advanced the most interesting theory in this connection. He declares that the regency was collegial in nature with Anthemius presiding as the head of a council of regency. In his view the government during these years was more akin to a republic than a monarchy. According to Gibbon the chief ministers of Arcadius continued to hold power during the early years of Theodosius' reign.[3] Since all were equal, Gibbon thought that it was possible that the idea of a free republic might have emerged. According to this interpretation the regency was shared, with Anthemius in the leading role because of his talent rather than his legal position.

1. J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire: From the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian,* 2 vols. (New York: Dover, 1958), I, 215.

2. Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* 7.1.10-16, in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca,* 161 vols. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1857-66), LXVII (hereafter *PG*). Bury, I, 212, n. 2, declares: "We do not know by what legal form this was arranged or whether others were associated in the regency."

3. E. Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* ed. J. B. Bury, 5th ed., 7 vols. (London: Methuen & Co. 1912), III, 383.

The manner in which the regency ended is equally uncertain. Bury states that, after Pulcheria was created Augusta, "Anthemius soon disappeared from the scene."[4] Gibbon once again engages in a characteristic speculation, asserting that the Romans had become too conditioned to monarchy to accept the change. When Pulcheria came of age, she was allowed to assume direction of the empire even though she was a woman.[5]

But by far the most important topic that needs to be studied in connection with Anthemius is his foreign and domestic policies. This would contribute to an understanding of why the East enjoyed a relatively tranquil era under Theodosius while the Western Empire was falling apart. The regency of Anthemius is a vital link in the chain of events during the Late Empire, so that an analysis of his policies would be helpful in forming a correct perspective on the history of the entire period. This essay attempts to fill the gap in our knowledge by studying Anthemius' career to determine the policies of his regency during this critical period.

II. *Anthemius' Rise to Power*

Before becoming praetorian prefect in 405, Anthemius had served in several positions which gave him the experience necessary for assuming this heavy responsibility. In 399 he served as ambassador to Persia.[6] He became *comes sacrarum largitionum* in 400,[7] then *magister officiorum* in 404,[8] and finally consul in 405.[9] His successive promotions, as well as his elevation to the praetorian prefecture, indicate that he was quite successful in discharging the duties of these offices.

Eutychian served as praetorian prefect for Arcadius immediately before Anthemius. The last extant decree issued to Eutychian is dated 11 June 405.[10] The first entry for Anthemius in the *Theodosian Code* is 10 July 405.[11] There are no sources that tell us directly why this transfer of power occurred.

Fortunately, however, a letter of John Chrysostom to Anthemius has survived which can be useful in solving this problem. The letter, written from Cucusus in 405, congratulates Anthemius for his assumption of the praetorian

4. Bury, I, 214.
5. Gibbon, III, 384.
6. Theodoret, *Historia Religiosa* 8, in *PG,* LXXII.
7. *Codex Theodosianus* 1.10.5, in *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes,* ed. T. Mommsen, 2 vols. in 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905), I.
8. *Ibid.,* 16.4.4.
9. A. Degrassi, *Fasti consulares et triumphales* (Roma: Lalibrera dello stato, 1947), no. 1158.
10. *Codex Justinianus,* ed. P. Krueger (Berlin: Weidmann, 1877).
11. *Codex Theodosianus* 7.10.1.

prefecture, declaring that he has given honor to his offices rather than the offices giving honor to him.

This brief letter mentions no events specifically, but it does allude rather cryptically to some event—a reference which must have been clear to Anthemius. Chrysostom thanks Anthemius for restoring the safety of persons who had suffered injustice:

> *Καὶ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις πᾶσι συνηδόμεθα, τὸν πλατύν σου λιμένα τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρῶντες, μυρία δυνάμενον λῦσαι ναυάγια, καὶ τοὺς ἐις ἔσχατον κλυδωνίου κατενεχθέντες παρασκευάσαι ἐξουρίας πλεῖν, διὰ ταῦτα σκιρτῶμεν, διὰ ταῦτα χαίρομεν, τὴν σὴν ἀρχὴν κοινὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἐπηρεαζομένων ἔιναι νομιζοντες.*[12]

This statement suggests that Anthemius corrected an injustice that had existed under his predecessors. The laudatory tone of this letter also suggests that the injustice was connected with Chrysostom's own adversities.

Chrysostom had been deposed from his position of patriarch of Constantinople by the Synod of the Oak. This synod—which had little regard either for justice or legality—was directed by Theophilus, the patriarch of Alexandria and a bitter opponent of Chrysostom. After the deposition Arcadius banished Chrysostom to Cucusus in Armenia.

Meanwhile tension between the two halves of the empire had been increasing for some time. Stilicho had been intriguing with Alaric to seize the Prefecture of Illyricum.[13] On the death of Arcadius Honorius was to claim that he was the lawful regent for the young Theodosius II, and was prevented from proceeding to the East only by the necessity of crushing the usurper Constantine.[14]

The rift between the East and the West reached a climax at the time of the Chrysostom controversy.[15] Although Innocent and the Western church were interested only in the restoration of Chrysostom, the crisis came at an oppor-

12. Joannes Chrysostom, *Epistulae* 147, in *Opera omnia,* 13 vols. in 18 (Paris: J.P. Migne, 1858-60).

13. Olympiodorus of Thebes, *fragmenta* 3, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum,* ed. K. Müller, 5 vols. (Paris: A. F. Didot, 1874-85), IV. Zosimus, *Historia Nova: The Decline of Rome* 5.26.2, trans. J. J. Buchanan and H. T. Davis (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1967).

14. Zosimus 5.31. Sozomen, *Historica Ecclesiastica,* 9.4., ed. J. Bidez & G. C. Hansen, in *Der Griechischen Christlischen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte,* Der Kirchenväter-Commission der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band L (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960). Zosimus makes it clear that Stilicho was behind the move and that he later planned to go himself to the East.

15. The indignant reaction of the Western church and government to the deposition of Chrysostom is summarized by Bury, I, 158-59.

tune time for Stilicho. Innocent wrote to Honorius asking him to intervene on behalf of Chrysostom. Honorius was only too happy to come to the pope's assistance. He wrote a letter to his brother demanding a new synod and rebuking Arcadius for ignoring repeated requests for justice for Chrysostom.[16] This letter was entrusted to the five bishops from an Italian synod who were considered state ambassadors and paid at public expense.[17] When this delegation was roughly treated, the matter was thus not merely an ecclesiastical offense but an insult to the Western government as well.

The inept policy of the Eastern government in its relations with the West was matched by an equally intransigeant domestic policy. At the time of the crisis the government was deprived on the capable guidance of the emperor's wife Eudoxia. Unassisted by the lethargic Arcadius, Eutychian as praetorian prefect embarked on a policy of persecution of Chrysostom's followers. A decree of 18 November 404 ordered the closing of all churches and the expulsion of all persons who refused to accept Arcadius as the legitimate patriarch.[18] Optatus, prefect of the city of Constantinople, fined or imprisoned those who refused to recognize Arcadius.[19]

There is some reason to believe that Eutychian's mismanagement of the Chrysostom affair led to his downfall and replacement by Anthemius. His thoughtless policy had led to the alienation of the entire Western church. The reckless persecution of Chrysostom's followers—and there were many—only made the situation worse. The crisis provoked by Stilicho may also have been a contributing factor. Eutychian had succeeded in antagonizing a large number of his own people at a time when Constantinople faced a serious military challenge.

At any rate Anthemius immediately reversed Eutychian's policies toward Chrysostom's followers. Optatus, who had so vigorously persecuted them, was dismissed from office.[20] Synesius, in a passing reference, mentions this more conciliatory policy.[21] This reconciliation, then, is almost certainly what Chrysostom was referring to in his letter to Anthemius. By reversing Eutychian's policy, he had corrected an injustice and brought about a detente for which Chrysostom and his followers were grateful. The conflict may have been the cause of Anthemius' elevation to the praetorian prefecture.

16. Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi* 3, ed. P. R. Coleman-Norton (Cambridge: The University Press, 1928): "This is the third time that I write to Your Gentleness, begging you to take measures for redress in regard to the plot against John, Bishop of Constantinople, and so far as it appears, nothing has been done." Quote from: *The Dialogue of Palladius Concerning the Life of Chrysostom,* trans. H. Moore (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921). p. 27.

17. Palladius, *Dialogus* 4.

18. *Codex Theodosianus* 16.4.6.

19. Palladius, *Dialogus* 3.

20. *Codex Theodosianus* 16.4.6, and 15.1.44.

21. Synesius, *Epistulae* 66, in *PG,* LXVI.

III. *Extent of Anthemius' Power*

There are two problems that deserve attention in trying to understand Anthemius' position: were others associated with him in governing; and by what legal form did he become regent for Theodosius II?

Socrates, the only source to declare explicitly that Anthemius was regent, might seem to indicate that the direction of the government was shared with others. He asserts that Anthemius never acted without counsel (*ἀβούλως*), but acted in concert with a group of notables (*πολλοῖς τῶν γνωρίμων*) especially the philosopher Troilus whom he practically always consulted.[22]

Theodoret does not mention Anthemius at all; neither do Sozomen and Philostorgius, who do mention the regency of Pulcheria.[23] Neither John Malalas nor Eunapius mention Anthemius, although the latter notes the regency of Pulcheria.[24] Since Anthemius does not seem to have made a very strong impression of any of these writers, their silence may indicate that the powers of the government were shared as Socrates at first might seem to suggest. Zosimus implies this is the cause when he uses the phrase *τοὺς τὴν Ἀρκαδιαν βασιλειαν οικονομοῦντες* to describe the Eastern government at the time of the Illyrian crisis.[25]

But if Socrates does seem to be saying that others were associated in the regency, there can be no doubt that he is also saying that Anthemius directed state affairs. Moreover, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Philostorgius were primarily interested in religious history; so their silence about Anthemius is not as strong an objection as it at first appears. Although Sozomen mentions Pulcheria's regency, the reference is only passing. Sozomen's main purpose is a pious eulogy of her virtues. Eunapius is too fragmentary to draw any certain conclusions about his understanding of the period of regency. Zosimus, it is true, refers to the Eastern government as being ruled by Arcadius' ministers, but this reference is to the Illyrian situation at the time Stilicho *began* hostilities, before the time of the government of Anthemius. Since Zosimus therefore has in mind the cabinet of Eutychian, any application to the situation under Anthemius would be of doubtful value.

Any conclusions from these sources about the extent of Anthemius' powers are tenuous. The letters of Chrysostom and Synesius, however, give us more of an insight into this situation. Chrysostom's letter provides some evidence that Anthemius had primary responsibility for the governing of the state. Certainly Chrysostom implies that the decision to revoke the policy of

22. *Socrates* 7.1.20-26.
23. Sozomen 9.1. Philostorgius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 12.7, ed. J. Bidez, in *Der Griechischen Christlischen Schriftsteller*, Band XXI (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1913).
24. Eunapius of Sardis, *fragmentae* 70, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, IV.
25. Zosimus, 5.26.2.

persecution was Anthemius' alone. The tone of the letter suggests that Anthemius as praetorian prefect now made decisions of importance in the state. But by itself the letter is not sufficiently informative to establish the conclusion that Anthemius controlled the government.

The correspondence of Synesius fills this gap. His correspondence includes several letters to friends of Anthemius that give a more precise picture of his role than any other source does. In two letters he appeals to his friends to intervene with Anthemius for the political advancement of his relatives. In a letter of 405 to Nicander, a friend of his and an assistant to Anthemius, Synesius requests his assistance on behalf of his nephew. He does not ask Nicander to act directly but rather to intercede with Anthemius on his nephew's behalf.[26] In a letter of 406 to Troilus, whom Socrates mentioned as the counselor of Anthemius, Synesius appeals to Troilus to request Anthemius to promote a cousin.[27] Synesius writes to request the intercession of these men, not their decision. This strongly implies that Anthemius had an ascendancy over those associated with him in the government.

Synesius' letters dealing with public affairs establish the fact that Anthemius was the actual ruler of the empire. In another letter to Troilus in 409, Synesius begs for help to save Libya from corrupt government. He asserts that Anthemius has both the power and the ability to save Libya from its distress.[28] Synesius appeals to Troilus to tell Anthemius that his responsibility for the safety of the empire demands action. He asks Troilus to remind Anthemius that the conduct of governors and the enforcement of the laws is his responsibility. This letter can leave no doubt but that the appointment of officials, the execution of the laws, and the governance of the state were the responsibility of Anthemius. Synesius closes his letter by pointing out that he is asking nothing more of Anthemius than his duty, for Anthemius is guardian of the laws (*τῶν νόμων τὸν τούτων φύλακα*). The responsibility for the guidance of the empire, then, was Anthemius'.

In 411 Synesius wrote to Theotimus, a philosopher and poet who was a friend of Troilus, asking his intervention and that of Troilus with Anthemius for the removal of an incompetent governor.[29] Synesius thus recognized that the appointment of governors was Anthemius' responsibility. This letter, then, reinforces the previous conclusion that Anthemius and not a council directed affairs of state. Finally, Synesius in the same year makes a passing

26. Synesius, *Epistulae* 75.
27. *Ibid.* 118.
28. *Ibid.* 73.
29. *Ibid.* 47.

reference in which he explicitly declares that Anthemius is first in state affairs.[30]

The cumulative effect of these letters makes it clear that Anthemius alone had primarily responsibility for the empire. By his appeals to them, Synesius suggests that Troilus, Theotimus, and others served Anthemius as counselors; but Anthemius made the decisions so that their function was only advisory. Synesius' letters show that others were associated with Anthemius in the government, but not as equals. Others assisted him, but in a subordinate and advisory capacity.

As the previous section has shown, Anthemius came to power while Arcadius was still living. Since Eudoxia was now dead, Anthemius in reality headed the government. The regency of Anthemius, then, did not constitute an innovation but rather a continuation of the situation that had existed under Arcadius. Theodosius had been created Augustus while his father was still living.[31] There was then no need for any special arrangements. On the death of Arcadius the government continued as it had before with a nominal Augustus and a praetorian prefect who actually directed affairs and was consequently a *de facto* regent.

IV. *Foreign Affairs*

In foreign affairs there were three areas that demanded attention. When Anthemius came to power, relations with the West were only one step from open conflict. To the east the Persian Empire was, as usual, a cause for concern. Finally, Anthemius had to deal with an invasion of the Huns.

The invasion of Italy by Radagaisus had prevented Stilicho from occupying Illyricum and had thus saved the East from a military engagement it probably would have lost. The subsequent barbarian invasion of Gaul and the usurpation of Constantine restrained Stilicho from undertaking any Eastern adventures for the next few years. In 408 Stilicho gave evidence that he intended to reassert his Eastern claims by appointing Jovius praetorian prefect of Illyricum.[32] When Arcadius died, the pretext was presented that Honorius was the legal guardian of Theodosius. Stilicho planned a journey to Constantinople, but he had to delay it in order to deal with the revolt of the usurper

30. Synesius, *Catastasis* 2.1, in *PG*, LXVI. Cf. also his *Epistulae* 79 and 49 for other references to Anthemius which, however, are not as helpful in ascertaining Anthemius' position as are the above letters. In his *Epistulae* 49 he tells Theotimus that just as Anthemius has deserved fame for his prudent government, so Theotimus has deserved fame by immortalizing the name of Anthemius in poetry.

31. *Chronicon Paschale,* ed. L. Dindorf, corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: E. Weber, 1832), *sub a.* 402.

32. Sozomen 8.25.

Constantine at Arles and other difficulties in the West.[33]

The situation in the East, however, had changed substantially since 405. Chrysostom had died in 407. Chrysostom's followers, who were by now more disposed to accept the government because of its policy of toleration, at least tacitly accepted Atticus as patriarch.[34] The Western bishops insisted only on the inscription of Chrysostom's name among the list of patriarchs.[35] The smooth transition from Arcadius to Theodosius II indicates that the East was much more united in 408 than it had been at the height of the controversy over Chrysostom.

On 22 August 408 Stilicho was executed. The East must have been greatly relieved by the death of a man who for more than a decade had been a potential enemy. What was to prove a disaster for the West was a gain for the East.

There is evidence that relations between East and West improved thereafter. Certainly the death of Stilicho had made such a rapprochement easier. By 409 the positions of the two governments were reversed. The East was safe, Hornorius now found himself besieged in Ravenna. Attalus, the stage-prop candidate of Alaric, now claimed the Western throne.[36] Honorius had lost hope and was about to flee by ship to Constantinople when four thousand troops arrived from the East to help him. Honorius took courage and decided to resist. He used the reinforcements from Anthemius to guard the city since he deeply distrusted his own troops. Events in Africa turned the tide so that Honorius remained in control of the empire.[37]

The troops that Anthemius sent not only indicated that good relations were being restored but also ensured that they would continue to remain so. Honorius was now indebted to the East for its help. Thus within a very short time Anthemius had reversed the relations between East and West. Although this was in part due to his own diplomacy, he was aided by good fortune. Disturbances in the West prevented Stilicho from invading the East. His later execution set the stage for reconcilation.

Socrates and Sozomen record a period of good relations between Persia and the Eastern Empire beginning with the accession of Theodosius II.[38] According to Sozomen the Persians were about to take up arms but decided on peace instead. He gives no details on this sudden change of policy.

33. Zosimus 5.31. Sozomen 9.4.

34. Emilienne Demougeot, *De l'unité à la division de l'Empire romain, 395-410; essai sur le gouvernement impérial* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1951), p. 349.

35. Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.34, ed. L. Parmentier, in *Der Griechischen Christlischen Schriftsteller,* band XIX (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911).

36. Olympiodorus 13. Zosimus 6.6-6.8.2.

37. Zosimus 6.8.2-6.12.3. Sozomen 9.8.12.

38. Socrates 7.8. Sozomen 9.4.

A story mentioned by later writers provides a clue to understanding this change. According to Procopius and a later chronicle,[39] Arcadius shortly before his death was worried that enemies both internal and external would take advantage of the youth of Theodosius. Persia might use this opportunity to seize Roman territory, or ambitious persons might try to overthrow the dynasty. So in drawing up his will Arcadius made the Persian king Yezdegerd guardian of his son and protector of the empire to forestall both possibilities. Yezdegerd accepted and threatened war against anyone who attempted to overthrow the young emperor.

The legendary nature of this story is unmistakable, for the Romans would never have accepted an arrangement that gave a Persian a protectorate over their emperor and state. Gibbon correctly rejected the account as unprecedented.[40] Yet most legends, especially if they are recent, have some foundation in fact.

How much validity is there in this story of Yezdegerd's guardianship? To the extent that it is true, it may simply have been a diplomatic gesture by Anthemius to flatter the Persian monarch and ensure peace. The guardianship, of course, would be wholly nominal. Anthemius was doubtless familiar with Persian policies and the steps that could be taken to win the king's favor from his tenure as ambassador to that court. His knowledge of Persia and Yezdegerd could have suggested some step like this to secure peace. However this may be, it is certain that Persia and the Roman Empire agreed to peace under Anthemius. This peace was not simply a temporary pause in hostilities since it lasted as long as Yezdegerd lived.

The arrangement seems to have had both commercial and religious aspects. A law of the year 409 regulated commerce between the two empires. The law declares in part that Roman merchants in conducting their business are not to go beyond those cities which were designated for trading by the treaty with Persia.[41] This law was designed, then, to implement commercial arrangements which had already been decided upon in the treaty with Persia. The treaty also led to toleration for Christians in the Persian dominion. This was accomplished through a series of legations beginning with that of Anthemius

39. Procopius, *Bellum Persicum* 1.2, in *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, ed. J. Haury, 3 vols. in 4 (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905-13). Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1883), *sub a.* 407.

40. Gibbon, III, 382-83.

41. *Codex Justinianus* 4.63.4: "Mercatores tam imperio nostro quam Persarum regi subjecto ultra ea loca in quibus foederis tempore cum morata natione nobis convenit, nundinas exercere minime opertet, ne alieni regni, quod non convenit, scrutentur ar- "

in 399.[42] This provision also lasted as long as Yezdegerd lived.[43] Anthemius' diplomacy proved successful in relations with Persia. The peace he established lasted longer than his lifetime, ending only with the accession of Varanes to the persian throne in 420.

Anthemius had to face one serious barbarian incursion during his term in office. Uldin, chief of the Scyrri, a Hunnic tribe, led his troops across the Danube to attack Moesia. The Huns occupied Castra Martis in Moesia and used it as a base to launch raids into Thrace. The government proposed peace terms but without success.

Sozomen makes it clear that the government's situation appeared hopeless at first: "But while Uldin was uttering menaces of this description [his refusal of peace terms] and was ordering as large a tribute as he pleased . . . when affairs were so helpless, God gave manifest proofs of special favor toward the present reign."[44] This "special favor" of God is described by Sozomen in a euphemistic circumlocution: "The immediate attendants and leaders of the tribes of Uldin were discussing the Roman forms of government, the philanthropy of the emperor, and his promptitude and liberality in rewarding the best and good men. It was not without God that they turned to the love of the points so discussed and seceded to the Romans, to whose camp they joined themselves, together with the troops ranged under themselves."[45] Once this statement is stripped of its pious rhetoric, what really happened was that a good number of the Huns deserted to the Romans in return for a bribe. This reversed the strength of the two beligerents so that the Romans were now able to drive the Huns back across the Danube with heavy losses. Those taken prisoner were sold as *coloni*.[46]

Thus what the weak Roman army could not achieve was accomplished by diplomacy. This is perhaps the most characteristic note of Anthemius' foreign policy. He brought about peace for the East by adroit political diplomacy rather than by war. His ability in this area may be measured by his successful use of it to reconcile the West, appease Persia, and defeat the Huns.

V. *Domestic Policies*

Much of Anthemius' energies in internal affairs was taken up with problems of defense. Among his more important achievements were the construc-

42. J. Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire Perse sous la dynastie Sassanide (224-632)* (Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1904), p. 87.

43. Socrates 7.8.

44. Sozomen 9.5. Also in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church,* 2nd ser., 14 vols. (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1890-1900), II, 422.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Codex Theodosianus* 5.6.3.

tion of a new wall for Constantinople, the restoration and fortification of the cities of Illyricum, and the establishment of a permanent fleet on the Danube. Under Anthemius' direction Constantinople was surrounded with a new wall running about a mile to the west of the old wall. Need for such a wall had existed for some time. Zosimus records that Constantinople had outgrown the wall of its founder shortly after his death.[47] The city extended even further by the time of Julian.[48] This successive growth certainly made an extension of the walls desirable.

There is some evidence to indicate that fear of attack stimulated construction at this precise moment. The *Theodosian Code* declares that the new wall of Constantinople was constructed for the *fortification* of the city.[49] Moreover, the wall was so planned as to take advantage of the fortification around the sixth hill.[50] The difficulties with Stilicho and later with the Huns had demonstrated the military weakness of the empire. Only luck and skillful diplomacy had prevented disaster. Knowledge of this may have impressed upon the government the desirability of enlarging the city with a well-fortified wall.

To strengthen the empire further, in 412 Anthemius ordered a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships to be maintained on the Danube.[51] The decree regulated in careful detail how many ships were to be new, and how many could be old. Old ones were to be repaired according to a fixed schedule. Provision was also made for the weapons and supplies that were to be stored on the vessels, with strict penalties for negligence by those responsible for enforcement. The purpose of this law was to strengthen the Danubian frontier and prevent further incursions by the Huns or other barbarians. The meticulous attention to detail in this law shows how anxious Anthemius was about the situation on the frontier. His recent experience with Uldin probably caused this concern.

Anthemius was especially concerned with the prefecture of Illyricum since that area had been severely devastated by the armies of Alaric and Stilicho, and was menaced by the Huns. In 408 he ordered that everyone throughout the empire, regardless of privilege, should be compelled to provide for the construction of walls and the transportation of supplies into Illyricum.[52] In 413 Anthemius relaxed the burden for the *curiales* of Illyricum in return for

47. Zosimus 2.35.1.

48. Himerius, *Declamations et orationes cum deperditarum fragmentis* 7.7.71-73, ed. A. Colonna (Roma: Typis Publicae Officinae Polygraphicae, 1951).

49. *Codex Theodosianus* 15.51.1: "Ad munitionem splendidissimae urbis exstructa est."

50. J. B. Bury, I, 70.

51. *Codex Theodosianus* 7.17.1.

52. *Ibid.* 11.17.4: "universi sine ullo privilegio."

other services that contributed to the reconstruction of the territory.[53] Illyricum was the only area singled out for such attention.

There was only one sudden domestic crisis during Anthemius' rule. In 409 Constantinople was hit by a famine when the grain ships from Alexandria failed to arrive.[54] The situation became serious when a mob attacked the house of Monaxius, prefect of the city, whose responsibility it was to manage supplies from Egypt.[55] Anthemius collected five hundred pounds of gold to purchase grain for the interim.[56]

Shortly thereafter Anthemius issued an edict reforming the merchant marine. The opening phrases of this law suggest that the famine resulted from corrupt shipmasters who sold their cargo in remote islands at higher prices.[57] Anthemius declared that henceforth the guild of shipmasters was to pay for all cargo, even if "lost at sea" *(dicatur tempestate maris deperisse).* The island of Carpathia was established as a half-way station, presumably so captains could no longer seek out other islands on the pretense that they had lost the other ships of their fleet. At Alexandria the handling of grain was transferred from the hands of the *curiales* to the guild of shipmasters, *ut curialibus praedae auferatur occasio.*[58] Anthemius also issued a law against autopragy, the practice whereby great landowners remitted amounts "of their own free will" rather than through the ordinary apparatus for tax collection.[59] He was probably unsuccessful in halting the practice since the law had to be repeated later.[60]

Anthemius does not seem to have been concerned with religious matters except in so far as they affected affairs of state. According to Socraties, his most trusted adviser was the pagan sophist Troilus.[61] Yet Socrates had an extremely high opinion of Anthemius, referring to him as the most prudent man of his time.[62] Anthemius had relaxed the persecution of Chrysostom's followers for political reasons. Presumably, however, he was responsible for later ordering Chrysostom to be sent to a more remote spot. Anthemius required Priscillianists and Montanists to perform government service even though they

53. *Codex Theodosianus* 12.1.177.

54. Marcellinus comes, *Chronicon,* in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctorum antiquissimorum,* 15 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1877-1919), XI, *sub a.* 409.

55. *Chronicon Paschale sub a.* 409.

56. *Codex Theodosianus* 14.16.1.

57. *Ibid.* 13.5.32: "Cum navarchorum coetus circiter provincias Orientis inopia navium titubaret, et investigandae classis obtentus insularum secessus obiret. . . ."

58. *Ibid.* 14.26.1.

59. *Ibid.* 11.22.4.

60. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire (284-476). De l'état romain à l'état byzantin,* 2 vols. in 3 (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1949-59), I, 278.

61. Socrates 7.1.22-23.

62. *Ibid.* 7.1.20.

had been forbidden to hold office in the West.[63] This move became necessary since office-holding had become a burden that many tried to avoid. In general Anthemius' policies in religion seem to have been determined by his policies of state.

Anthemius launched no radical innovations in domestic matters during his rule. His policies were simply a response to problems as they arose. If his policies were cautious, they were effective. The relatively tranquil reign of Theodosius II is partly explained by the peaceful order he inherited from Anthemius.

VI. *Transfer of Power to Pulcheria*

The last law addressed to Anthemius in the *Theodosian Code* is dated 17 February 415.[64] He was succeeded by Aurelian as praetorian prefect. But Pulcheria became *de facto* regent for her younger brother. She had already been created Augusta on 4 July 414 while Anthemius was still in power.[65]

Bury is almost certainly right in conjecturing that death removed Anthemius from the scene.[66] It is scarcely imaginable that a sixteen-year old girl could have overthrown a man who had so effectively resolved previous crises. Pulcheria, moreover, had been created Augusta in 414 when it is known that Anthemius was still alive and in power. Finally, there is a strong continuity between the two regencies. Pulcheria continued to work for improvement of relations with Honorius.[67] Persia and the Roman Empire continued to remain friendly.[68] Thus, even if some reason other than death caused Anthemius' retirement, the transition was certainly peaceful and maintained continuity.

VII. *Conclusion*

The examination of Anthemius' position shows that he came to power by force of circumstances under Arcadius before the reign of Theodosius II. His regency for the young Theodosius was therefore a continuation of his previous rule. For this reason it is probably a mistake to look for legal forms by which Anthemius became regent. The unanimous silence of the sources on this subject suggests that there were no legal forms, but rather a smooth transition that preserved the previously existing mode of government.

63. *Codex Theodosianus* 16.5.48.
64. *Ibid.* 8.4.26. According to the *Chronicon Paschale* Aurelian was praetorian prefect before 30 December 414. Unless the date is correct, the *Theodosian Code* is a more reliable source. Whichever date is accepted, the argument is not affected.
65. Marcellinus comes *sub a.* 414.
66. Bury, I, 214.
67. *Chronicon Paschale sub a.* 415.
68. Labourt, pp. 89-90.

Although others were associated with Anthemius in the regency, they did not share his power. The uncertainty on this subject probably arose from Socrates' statement that Anthemius never acted without advice and that he always acted in concert with Troilus. Synesius' correspondence with Troilus and other members of Anthemius' cabinet asks not for their own direct help, but for their intercession with Anthemius. Synesius' letters show that the powers Anthemius possessed were definitely those nominally held by the emperor. Consequently it is a mistake to see any inclination toward republican government during the period of regency. This theory is based upon the conviction that imperial power was shared among "the great officers of the state and army,"[69] a conviction which is no longer tenable if Synesius' letters are regarded as trustworthy evidence.

In analyzing Anthemius' policies one of the most striking features is his lack of interest in military adventures and desire for conciliation. Apparently recognizing the weakness of the empire and its need for reconstruction, he avoided military actions of any sort. Anthemius worked in harmony with the West in spite of Stilicho's previous attitude to the East. Anthemius granted Persia a favorable economic treaty and a nominal guardianship over the emperor to appease Persia and guarantee peace on the eastern frontier. In dealing with the Scyrri, Anthemius preferred bribery to all-out war.

Anthemius appears to have recognized that the empire could not risk a major war in its present condition. Consequently he sought peace in order to strengthen the empire internally. Within the empire Anthemius concentrated his efforts on defense and reconstruction. With the money saved from interminable and costly wars, Anthemius could afford projects of a large scale. Constantinople was fortified with a more extensive wall, the Danube frontier was strengthened by a powerful fleet, and Illyricum was fortified and rehabilitated. Anthemius must have recognized that peace in such an era could hardly be enduring, so much of his energy was devoted to problems of defense.

Anthemius' capable administration was long remembered. When the wall of Constantinople was repaired at a much later date, a cornerstone was inserted with the following inscription:

> Portarum valido firmavit limine muros
> Pusaeus magno non minor Anthemio.[70]

69. Gibbon, III, 383.

70. Dessau. *Inscriptiones latinae selectae,* ed. H. Dessau, 2nd. ed., 3 vols. in 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1954-62), no. 5339.

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The Origin of the Term Saracen and the Rawwāfā Inscriptions

Despite the desuetude into which the use of the term Saracen has fallen in the last three centuries, it was the chief European designation of speakers of Arabic over the course of a dozen centuries. Indeed, the word has been used in English for the whole history of the language; in contrast, derivatives of the modern term Arab do not appear in English until Chaucer, five centuries after the first use of Saracen.[1] In a larger European perspective, the development is even more striking: from late antiquity well into the modern period, the largest language group in Southwestern Asia was known as the Saracens, a term of obscure etymology and sense, even in Arabic.

We are knowingly anachronistic in referring to the Arabs as a language group: such "pure" designations are strictly modern and it is not always clear even now that the linguistic reference of the term is generally recognized. In pre-modern times, all population designations were based on a broad spectrum of criteria, ranging from language and geography, through features of culture determined by them, to plain fantasies perpetuated to maintain the status of out-groups. Etymologies based on all these criteria–save the first–have been proposed for *saracēni* by readers from the Fathers to the moderns. All are defective in their failure to take account of the peculiar situation of the Imperial frontier with the Arabian Shield during the period in which the term first appears.

On the basis of recent epigraphic and archaeological research into this situation, we wish to propose that *saracēni* is derived from a technical term in the political vocabulary of the inhabitants of North Arabia, *šarikat* "federation, company." This is the only linguistically plausible etymology which takes ser-

1. The first OED date for *Saracen* is c. 893, for *arabiens* (sic) and *arabic*, c. 1391: see *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1971), pp. 106, 2639. Standard modern treatments of *saracēni* include J. H. Mordtmann, "Saracens," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. M. T. Houtsma, *et al.*, 1st ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1934) IV, 155-56; and B. Moritz, "Saraka," in *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, *et. al.*, 2nd series, (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1896-), I, pt. 2, cols. 2387-90. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca-latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 (Paris: Seu Petit-Montrouge, 1857-66); and *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1844-64) are cited as *PG* and *PL; Scriptores Historiae Augustae* is abbreviated *SHA*.

ious account of the historical context of the term's earliest uses.[2] The existence of the word in the pre-Islamic Arabic dialects was first appreciated by the distinguished French historian and epigrapher, J. T. Milik, O. P.[3] Its relevance as the best etymon of *saracēni* has not been recognized in recent study.[4]

In setting out to discuss the etymology, we will begin by looking at Roman relations with the peoples bordering on Provincia Arabia in the period of the term's earliest uses. After reviewing other etymologies, the relevance of the language of the Rawwāfā Bilingual Inscription, the major new document in the study of those relations, will be patent.[5]

Roman Relations with North Arabia

The earliest archaeological investigations of the defensive system of the Roman eastern frontier proceeded from Mommsen's hypothesis of a duplex *limes.*[6] Brünnow and Domaszewski, in their fundamental survey of the Arabian province, were able to distinguish clearly between the external military road along the desert edge between ᶜAmmān and Maᶜān and the internal fortified Trajanic trade route between Bostra and Aila, designating them as the

2. A note on the languages to be discussed below may be provided. The three major branches of the Semitic family provide relevant evidence. East Semitic, represented by Akkadian, offers only cognate evidence. Northwest Semitic, divided into the Aramaic and Canaanite groups, offers cognate data from the latter (Hebrew) and direct evidence from several dialects of the Aramaic group, Nabatean, Palmyrene and Hatran, used by the urban populations of southern Palestine, Syria and upper Iraq for writing purposes only. South Semitic offers the evidence of the North Arabian (or Arabic) dialects, Thamudic, Safaitic and Classical Arabic (often cited below as Arabic simply). Classical Arabic forms are cited with the *ta' marbūṭā* for ease of comparison across writing systems.

3. J. T. Milik, O. P., "Inscriptions grecques et nabatéennes de Rawwāfāh," in *Preliminary Survey of N. W. Arabia, 1968,* ed. P. J. Parr, G. L. Harding and J. E. Dayton = University of London. *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology,* 10 (1971), 54-58. The inscriptions treated in this paper had been studied, on the basis of poor photographs, by F. Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969), V, pt. 2, 24-25; and J. Teixidor, "Bulletin d'epigraphie semitique 1970," *Syria,* 47 (1970), 377-79. The most recent treatment of them is that of G. W. Bowersock, "The Greek-Nabataean Bilingual at Ruwwāfā, Saudi Arabia," in *Le monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels, 1975), pp. 513-22.

4. It was previously suggested by Aloys Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens als Grundlage der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Semitismus* (Bern: von Huber, 1875), p. 201, who understood the term to mean "ally (of Rome)." We will propose that it refers to an internal organization of North Arabians.

5. For information on the texts, see the bibliography cited *apud* n. 3. Bowersock contends that "the new bilingual inscription . . . puts beyond any doubt that northwestern Saudi Arabia, precisely that part of the peninsula which had been part of the Nabataean kingdom until A.D. 106, was after that date a part of the Roman province of Arabia," *Préaux,* p. 516. This is, as we shall see, not the only construction which can be put on the inscription's text and location.

6. Theodor Mommsen, "Der Begriff des Limes," *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift,* 13 (1894), 134-43 = *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1908), V. sec. 2, 456-64.

outer and inner *limes* respectively.[7] Poidebard's later aerial reconnaissance of the Syrian fortification system reflected a similar scheme, with outlying defensive posts buttressing and insulating interior commercial arteries.[8] In subsequent research, however, scholars have preferred to speak of an in-depth defense of the eastern frontier, proposing a complex infrastructure for a defensive system dependent on rapid communication and the cooperation of mobile troops stationed throughout the militarized zone.[9] Nonetheless, there is no archaeological evidence of any substantial Roman military presence in the region adjacent to the Trajanic *via nova* east and northeast of Aila, an area of more than 60 km. Any attempt to explain this gap in the Roman defense of the province on the basis of the climactic or geographical peculiarities of the region is belied by Nabatean fortifications in the area. The slight evidence which does exist for Roman military activity in this problematic sector and further south in the Arabian peninsula is also not obviously of occupational character.[10]

Alois Musil, who recognized the problem of this meagerly defended sector, suggested that the social organizations of North Arabia served as Roman *foederati,* and were assigned the protection of the southeastern Imperial frontier after the collapse of the Nabatean buffer state in the second century.[11] The suggestion is essentially plausible. Archaeological evidence points to similar *indigenae* forces as guardians of the Roman frontier in North Africa; in the late pre-Islamic period, North Arabian social organizations based on client

7. R. E. Brünnow and A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia,* 3 vols. (Strassburg: K. J. Trübner, 1904-09).

8. A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syria. Recherches aëriennes (1925-32),* Bibliothéque historique et archéologique 18 (Paris: Geuthner, 1934).

9. As is argued for southern Palestine by Mordechai Gichon in "The Negev Frontier," in *Israel and her Vicinity in Roman and Byzantine Periods,* ed. S. Applebaum (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Univ., 1967), pp. 35-64; "The Origins of the Limes Palestinae and the Major Phases of its Development," in *Studien zu den militärgrenzen Roms. Vorträge des 6. Internationalen Limes-Kongressus in Süddeutschland* (Köln: Bohlau, 1967), pp. 175-93; "Das Verteidigungssystem und die Verteidiger des Flavischen Limes in Judäa," in *Provincialia. 'Festchrift für Rudolf Laur-Belart,* ed. E. Schmid, *et al.* (Stuttgart/Basel: Schwabe, 1968), pp. 317-34; "The Military Significance of Certain Aspects of the Limes Palestinae," in *Roman Frontier Studies: The Proceedings of the 7th International Congress,* ed. S. Applebaum (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Univ., 1971), pp. 191-200. For Arabia, see now G. W. Bowersock, "Limes Arabicus," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* 80 (1976), 219-29, who suggests that the transformation of the Roman concept of *limes* from a fortified line to a whole region was the result of the special conditions of the eastern frontier where such a defensive system was a necessity.

10. For a more detailed discussion of the material in this section, with full references and a map, see D. F. Graf, "The Saracens and the Defense of the Arabian Frontier," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* 229 (1978), 1-26.

11. Alois Musil, *The Northern Ḥeǧaz* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1926), p. 258.

kings were tied to both Byzantine and Parthian dispensations. Continued investigations in what may be the most complex area of Semitic epigraphy, pre-Islamic texts, as well as other epigraphic developments, make it possible now to confirm the existence of a relationship between Rome and the federated social organizations of North Arabia in the Antonine period.

The context of the major development in Roman-North Arabian relations during the Flavian Era (69-138), the creation of Provincia Arabia in 106, is provided by graffiti in Safaitic and Thamudic script and dialect.[12] There is at least some evidence to suggest that the northward extension of the domain these graffiti cover is to be dated to the first and second centuries. Similar northward movement is hinted at in Latin literary sources, which before the second century situate the Thamud in the Hejaz in contrast to the writings of Ptolemy in which they are placed further north. (Unfortunately, both inscriptional and literary sources are much more reticent about the Safaitic groups.) The social organizations associated with the Thamudic and Safaitic inscriptions, or at least the former, may be regarded as having moved north, out of Arabia, during this period, and with this movement we may associate the Flavian developments and the general unrest in the area.

The unrest continues during the early part of the Antonine period (138-93); its cessation later in the period is the result of a political development now well-attested. Early in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, before the death of Aurelius Verus in 169, the Thamudic social organization concluded an alliance with Rome which is commemorated in a number of inscriptions found at Rawwāfā.

This site, in the central Ḥismā, just south of the midpoint of a line from Petra to Leuke Kome, the Red Sea port, is the locale of an isolated shrine containing a number of Greek and Nabatean inscriptions including a Greek-Nabatean bilingual. Since the shrine itself is of Nabatean construction and the Semitic language of preference for the texts is Nabatean, there is no external reason to connect the shrine or the texts with the Thamud; there is only the evidence of the texts themselves.[13] The inscriptions were probably first noted

12. The Thamudic material is abundant but not entirely accessible to scholars who, like us, lack direct control of the texts. For a general survey, see A. van den Branden, *Histoire de Thamoud*, Publications de l'Université Libanaise, Section des études historiques VI (Beyrouth: Université Libanaise, 1966). Any impression of good order in the field, however, can be corrected by looking at A. Jamme, *Thamudic Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1967), who devotes particular attention to the weaknesses of van den Branden's textual publications, which form the basis of his *Histoire*. On Safaitic texts, see the references in n. 60.

13. It is not necessary, with Bowersock, *Préaux*, p. 517, to interpret this an an expression of the former subservient relationship of the Thamud to the Nabateans. Nabatean was simply the official language of diplomatic interchange for the region, in which

by Musil in 1910 and have been most recently published by J. T. Milik in 1971. The bilingual, apparently a lintel inscription of dedication, is damaged but read in conjunction with the other texts, provides substantial information.

The shrine was built by a member of the Rubatu group (so Latinice; Arabice, modern Rawwāfā) for the Thamudic deity, Ilāhā. The Greek and Nabatean texts, after invoking with suitable honorifics the two emperors, refer to, in Greek [. . . τὸ τῶ]ν θαμουδηνῶν ἔ[θνος] "the Thamudean people," and in Nabatean *šrkt*[14] *tmwdw* "the federation of Thamudeans." Later the Nabatean text refers to *qdmy šrkth* "the elders of their federation." The restored Greek phrase occurs complete in the identical context in another, monolingual Greek text and may be regarded as assured. The Nabatean text also records that Q. Antistius Adventus, known to have been governor of Provincia Arabia in 166,[15] was accorded (or made) greetings (Nab. *ḥfyt*)[16] and that he made peace among the Thamudeans or between them and the Romans (Nab. *rmṣhm*).[17] The three technical diplomatic terms cited here are worthy of note because they do not reflect the basic language of the text, which is an Aramaic dialect, but rather the spoken language of the Thamud, an Arabic dialect.

Some background for this development should be outlined. The Thamud are first known from the annals of the Neo-Assyrian ruler Sargon II (721-05 B.C.) where they appear as a leaderless enemy. The nature of their political organization is no clearer from later references, but the circumstances of the Rawwāfā text do indicate certain facts. The area in which this federation appears was the home of the Midianite federation of the Late Bronze Age and

the Nabateans had probably only previously shared control with other inhabitants of the Hejaz; see Philip C. Hammond, *The Nabataeans-Their History, Culture and Archaeology*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, vol. 37 (Gothenburg: Paul Aströms, 1973), pp. 29-34.

14. The locus of *šrkt* is missing from the transcription of Altheim and Stiehl. Teixidor working from their photographs read *drbt* "of Robātu." Milik, however, does not regard the reading of the word as being in question. The word itself is discussed further below. In quoting Milik's text, we do not reproduce his markings on uncertain letters, since our comments cannot hope to replace his edition.

15. For further discussion of the two governors mentioned in the Rawwāfā texts, and related problems in the gubernatorial and consiliar *fasti*, see Bowersock, *Préaux*, pp. 516-17.

16. Nabatean *ḥfyt* "salutations" is the verbal noun of the Thamudic cognate of the Classical Arabic *ḥafā* "to receive kindly and hospitably." A related form of the verb occurs in the Palmyrene of a Greek-Palmyrene bilingual, cited by Milik, p. 57. The word is not known in Aramaic and is, therefore, assumed to be a loan from Thamudic into Nabatean. On the Greek translation of the term προτροπή "exhortation, encouragement," see Bowersock, *Préaux*, p. 515.

17. The referent of the pronominal suffix of Nabatean *rmṣhm* "he made peace among/between them" is obscure. Both Bowersock and Milik assume that the peace was made among the Thamud. This term is also a loan into Nabatean from Thamudic Arabic, as Milik notes on the basis of the Classical Arabic cognate.

Early Iron I period, a federation whose history is entangled with that of early Israel.[18] Further, the pattern of using an isolated shrine as a confederation center, a neutral focal point, though scarcely lacking modern parallels (e.g., the use of Switzerland, "the country of a thousand years of peace"), is also well attested in the Late Bronze and Iron ages.

The subsequent relations between Rome and the Thamud are not totally clear, but the provincial borders of Arabia seem to have been characterized by disruption in the immediate post-Antonine period. This regional instability is later revealed, for example, in the Severan strengthening of the frontiers, which was not designed simply to confront the Parthian threat, but also to counteract incursions by North Arabians. No genuine order was achieved until some time after the rise of Islam.[19]

The Saracēni

The two earliest important uses of the term *saracēni* refer to the second century. There are two earlier passages which have been cited in connection with the word. The first, in Dioscurides of Anazarbus' *De Materia Medica* (mid-first century A.D.), may mention the effluence of a δένδρου σαρακηνικοῦ.[20] The second, in the *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny, mentions both *Araceni* and *Arreni.*[21] The first of these is textually difficult and the second both textually and morphologically so (are the two forms distinct or the result of doubleting?).[22] The earliest allusions which command serious attention occur in Ptolemy's *Geographia* in the first half of the second century, where the references may be confused: at one point, Ptolemy locates the *saracēni* in an area that would comprehend Rawwāfā; at another, he places them in the Sinai peninsula near the Egyptian border.[23] The most useful early treatment (al-

18. G. E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press, 1973), pp. 163-73.

19. Developments from the early fourth century on are dealt with most recently by Bowersock in his treatment of the Imru' l-Qais inscription of 328, *Préaux*, pp. 520-22.

20. *De Materia Medica* 1.60.

21. *Historia Naturalis* 6.32.157.

22. Contra Moritz, col. 2388 and Mordtmann, p. 155. W. Caskel associates the name *arreni* (as he cites one of Pliny's forms) with Arabic *rahawī*, in "The Bedouinization of Arabia," in *Studies in Islamic Cultural History*, ed. G. E. von Grunebaum, American Anthropological Association Memoirs 76 (Menasha, Wisc.: American Anthropological Association, 1954), pp. 36-46, esp. p. 39; this paper was also published as "Zur Beduinisierung Arabiens," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft*, 103 (1953), 28-36. If these two texts are associated with *saracēni*, then the historical context for the etymology proposed here would have to be reconsidered.

23. *Geographia* 6.7.21; 5.17.3. On the city Saraka, mentioned in *Geographia* 6.7.41, see Moritz, col. 2388.

though only relatively so) is that of Ammianus Marcellinus, who uses the term *saracēni* apropos of the second century. While discussing the *saracēni*, the historian says he recalls having told of their customs in his history of Marcus (Aurelius).[24] Thus, the appearance of the *saracēni* in Roman parlance is best dated to the second century.

Parallel with the rise of the term *saracēni* is the disappearance of other terms for inhabitants of the region. The term *Thamudeni* was in Roman usage in early Imperial times; after the second century, it virtually disappears. The only notable references are in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which records that the *equites Saracēni Thamudeni* served in Egypt and the *equites Thamudeni Illyriciani* at Birsama in Palestine.[25] Similarly, by the fourth century at the latest, the term *Arabes* had fallen out of currency. The term of reference for the great populations of the Arabian Shield and the groups in Syria and Palestine asssociated with them was *saracēni*.[26] We wish to suggest that the term *saracēni* became associated with the Thamud as a result of the Aurelian alliance (and likely, others similar to it) and eventually became synonymous, not only with Thamud, but with all other designations for the area's population.[27]

The next historically useful reference to the *saracēni* is dated about a century after the consummation of the alliance: they are the focus of Diocletian's campaign in 290.[28] Sometimes in later records they are allies of the Romans[29]

24. Ammianus Marcellinus 14.4.2; see A. A. Vasiliev, "Notes on Some Episodes Concerning the Relations Between Arabs and the Byzantine Empire from the Fourth to the Sixth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9-10 (1956), 306-16. In addition, the *SHA* refers to a conflict of the *saracēni* with Rome in the last part of the second century (*Pescennius Niger* 7.8).

25. *Notitia Dignitatum in partibus Orientis* 28.17; 34.22; ed. Otto Seeck (Berlin: Weidmann, 1876), pp. 59 and 73.

26. Mordtmann, p. 156, gives some rough indications of the ways in which *saracēni* was diffused, through late antiquity and into the Early Modern period.

27. See, for example, Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.36=*PG*, LXVII, col. 556B-C; John Cassian, *Collationes* 6.1=*PL*, XLIX; col. 645A; Procopius, *Anecdota/Historia Arcana* 24.12-14; and Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabas* 72, in E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, Texte und Untersuchungen 49.2/4.4.2 (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1939), p. 175.

28. *Panegyrici Latini* 11 (3).5.4, ed. G. Baehrens (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911), p. 279= ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), p. 260=ed. E. Galletier (Paris, 1949), I, 55. See in general W. Ensslin, *Zur Ostpolitik des Kaisers Diokletian*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, 1942, Heft 1 (München: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1942). On the fourth century witnesses of Ulpianus and Uranius, which survive only through Stephanus Byzantinus, see Mordtmann, p. 155; F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, IIIC (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958); and more recently, the Harvard dissertation of J. M. I. West, *Uranius*, abstracted in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 78 (1974), 282-84.

29. *SHA*, *Aurelian* 11.3; *Probus* 4.1. The *saracēni* continue to serve the Romans as late as the time of Justinian; see V. Christides, "Arabs as 'Barbaroi' Before the Rise of Islam," *Balkan Studies*, 10 (1969), 315-24. Contra Christides' contention, *barbaros* is a word of Sumerian origin.

and sometimes the Persians and Palmyrenes.[30] The collapse of the separate referents of *saracēni* and other terms for North Arabians is underway in Ammianus Marcellinus, but there are indications that prior to his time, the referents were, as we assume, distinct. Ammianus himself remarks jejunely that those once known as *scenitas Arabas* are now called *saracēni*; they are elsewhere distinguished, albeit imprecisely, from Arabs[31] and from the inhabitants of Arabia Felix.[32]

The ethnographic details furnished in our fullest early record on the *saracēni,* that of Ammianus Marcellinus, do not reflect any significant direct knowledge of the people, despite his service on the eastern frontier. He offers stock descriptions overlapping in significant particulars with other reports of those beyond the Roman Pale.[33] The origin of the term is beyond Ammianus' ken, and, as we shall see, beyond that of other writers of late antiquity.

30. *SHA, Aurelian* 27.4; 28.4; cf. *Firmus (The Four Tyrants)* 3.3

31. *SHA, Aurelian* 11.3; *The Thirty Tyrants* 30.8; Festus, *Brevarium* 3.16, on which see J. W. Eadie, *The Brevarium of Festus* (London: Athlone Press, 1967), p. 77.

32. *SHA, Aurelian* 33.4.

33. As was observed by T. Mommsen, "Ammians Geographia," *Hermes*, 16 (1881), 602-36, at p. 635, who remarked that the historian was "besser geeignet höfische nichtswürdigkeit zu durchschauen als in die Individualität andersartiger Völker sich hineinzudenken." The same point is emphasized in more recent studies: see W. Seyfarth, "Nomadenvölker an den Grenzen der spätrömischen Reiches: Beobachtungen des Ammianus Marcellinus über Hunnen und Sarazenen," in *Das Verhältnis von Bodenbauern und Viehzüchtern in historischer Sicht=Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin Institut für Orientforschung*, 69 (1969), 207-13. For further details, see R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), p. 64; J. F. Gilliam, "Ammianus and the Historia Augusta: The Lost Books and the Period 117-285," *Bonner Historia Augusta Colloqium 1970*, Antiquitas Reihe 4, Beiträge zur Historia Augusta Forschung 10 (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1972), pp. 125-47, esp. p. 132; A. Chastagnol, "Sources, themes et procédés de composition dans les 'Quadrige Tyrannorum,' " *Recherches sur l'Histoire Auguste*, Antiquitas Reihe 4, Beiträge zur Historia Augusta Forschung 6 (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1970), pp. 69-98, esp. p. 81; and W. Richer, "Die Darstellung der Hunnen bei Ammianus Marcellinus (32.2.1-11)," *Historia*, 23 (1974), 343-77, esp. 366-68. The theme of "the general Saracen image reflected in most Byzantine writers" is taken up in connection with Procopius in V. Christides, "Saracens' *Prodosia* in Byzantine Sources," *Byzantion*, 40 (1971), 5-13. Christides appreciates the political implications of ethnographic levelling: "The situation depicted by Procopius is but one rather glaring example of the catastrophic results created by the Byzantine attitude, and which a century later were to fling open the door of the whole East to the invading Moslem army," p. 13. Fixed ethnographical language is not a phenomenon of only the ancient and mediaeval periods. Rodney Needham, the Oxford anthropologist, has observed that nowadays "everybody . . . knows that untutored peoples are said to fear the capture of their souls in the visitor's little black box," be it camera or tape-recorder, "but no one . . . can tell me where this common idea came from"; he notes that it does not figure in formal ethnographical description, but only in journalistic commentary of persons ignorant of the languages in which the beliefs would be expressed; see "Little Black Boxes," *The Times Literary Supplement* (28 May 1976).

The Etymological Problem

By the fourth century of the Common Era, *saracēni*/*σαρακηνοί* had become the dominant term to describe the North Arabian populace and congeners. The emergence of this term, we believe, is to be found in the context of the historical developments briefly sketched above. Before we go on to ratify this suggestion, we should review, with an eye to linguistic as well as historical detail, other proposed etymologies. All of them will be seen to be linguistically improbable or historically unsupported. The late Imperial transformation of Mediterranean vocabulary for North Arabians is almost certainly related to the diplomatic encounters between Rome and the North Arabian sphere documented in the texts of Rawwāfā.

Patristic Etymologies

The most ancient interpretation of the term *saracēni* first appears in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the name was connected with Sarah, the wife of Abraham.[34] This patently polemical suggestion turns on a supposed rhetorical trick: the Ishmaelites, with whom the North Arabians were identified, were supposed to have coined the term *saracēni* to disguise their descent from a slave woman, Hagar. The obvious objection, that this only explains half the name, was ingeniously dealt with by John of Damascus (660-750). He has Hagar, in her dialogue with the angel at the well, restate Sarah's demand that her son not share his inheritance with Hagar's in the words *σάρρα κενήν με ἀπέλυσεν* "Sarah has sent me away empty."[35] Thus, the two halves of *saracēni* are accounted for.[36] This explanation was later taken up by Ibn al-Athīr (A.D. 1160-1239).[37] It is chiefly of interest in establishing that the Fathers felt free to supply the term with a popular etymology and correspondingly that they felt no pressure from, because they had no knowledge of, the correct etymology.

34. The earliest use seems to be Jerome's, discussed by Mordtmann, p. 156. See also Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica 6.38=PG*, LXVII, col. 1412B; cf. Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses* 1.2.30.33=*PG*, XLI, col. 469A.

35. Sarah's demand occurs in Genesis 21.10, the angelic dialogue in Genesis 16.7-14. On the historical background of the passage in Genesis, see I. Eph^{c}al, " 'Ishmael' and 'Arab(s)': A Transformation of Ethnological Terms," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 35 (1976), 225-35, and references.

36. John of Damascus, *De Haeresibus* 101 = *PG*, XCIV, col. 764 A-B. The realities are not entirely unrelated. The Hagarites, mentioned once in the Psalter (Psalm 82.7), and thrice in I Chronicles (5.10, 19, 20), may be associated with the *agraei*/*ἀγραῖοι* of the classical geographers and with the ancient commercial center Hegra, modern Meda'in Ṣāliḥ; see R. F. Schnell, "Hagrite," *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 4 vols. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), II, 511.

37. According to Anastas Marī al-Kirmilī, "Arabs or Roamers?" *al-Machriq* 7 (1904), 340-43 (in Arabic).

Ethnic and Geographical Etymologies

Some scholars have attempted to attribute primacy to the use of the term *saracēni* as a designation for a unitary social organization, located somewhere between Egypt, Palestine and Arabia Felix, rather than regarding such usage as the result of later confusion within the traditions. Mordtmann, following Moritz, has conjectured that this supposed "tribe" of Saracens rose to prominence in the mid-third century, incorporated surrounding social organizations and ravaged the Roman frontier, making its name synonymous with outlying Southwest Asiatic groups.[38]

The references to *σαρακηνοί* living in the Hejaz, Midian or the Sinai, adjacent to the Thamud and the Nabateans, are hardly clear and there seems little warrant for levelling the distinction between the Thamud and *saraceni* in order to accommodate these confused traditions, in support of an explanation that explains precious little.[39] It is true that in references from the fourth century on, the *saracēni* are said to be living in the Sinai,[40] notably in accounts of the raids on Christian monasteries near Mount Sinai, but the relevance of these and later references depends, of course, on the hypothesis of an early unitary organization.[41] A modern reflex of this supposed ancient social organization has been found in the Sawārqe tribe of the northern Sinai,[42] but there is no evidence in the medieval Arab tradition for this name and even if the connection with *saracēni* were to be allowed, the name could well be the result of feedback from European terminology.

In another attempted etymology, the Arab geographer Yāqūt (1179-1229) associated the term *saracēni* with a harbor in South Arabia called *sarraḥ*.[43] This is linguistically far-fetched: it is far more likely that *ḥ* would be lost in a loan from a Semitic sound-system to an Indo-European one than it would appear as *k*.[44]

38. Mordtmann, p. 156; Moritz, col. 2388; cf. C. P. Grant, *The Syrian Desert* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), p. 19.

39. This view also requires levelling variances within Ptolemy's account, as Moritz, col. 2388, does, with the aid of fatuous notions about Arabian pastoralism.

40. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 6.42=*PG*, XX, col. 613B, referring to the Decian persecutions; related material is discussed by Mordtmann, p. 156.

41. E.g., Ammonius, "The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert," a Palestinian Syriac text translated in *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert and the Story of Eulogios*, ed. A. S. Lewis, Horae Semiticae 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1912), pp. 1-14; and Nilus of Ancyra, *Narrationes* 91C=*PG*, LXXIX, col. 666; for discussion, see P. Mayerson, "The Desert of Southern Palestine According to Byzantine Sources," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 107 (1963), 160-72.

42. Mortiz, col. 2388; this view is rejected in C. C. R. Murphy, "Who Were the Saracens?" *Asiatic Review*, 41 (1945), 188-90.

43. According to al-Kirmilī, 342, who mentions that Yaqut also associated the term with the Arabic verb *saraḥa* "to roam freely." The extension of geographical or social organizational designations to embrace other areas or social groups is not unknown in Arabia.

44. We ignore some bad ideas adequately rejected by Murphy, p. 189.

Current Linguistic Etymologies

The most widespread opinion about the etymology of *saracēni* associates the term with Arabic *sarq* "east," and thus *sarqiyyin* "easterners," presumably because the *saracēni* lived east of Palestine.[45] An analogy has been found in Hebrew *b^enē qedem* "easterners," the inhabitants of the Syrian desert between Ḥaurān and Nemara.[46] Moritz has gone so far as to suggest that the terms are both equivalent in sense and reference.[47] Similar terms are found in the Akkadian of Mari, in the Central Euphrates Valley in the early second millennium B.C.: *banū yamina* "southerners" and, less frequently, *banū sim'al* "northerners"; the former term almost certainly belongs with the name of the Israelite tribe of Benjaminites, although the nature of the link is unclear.[48] There is no indication that any designation of this form was used among ancient North Arabians. If, as seems likely, the term was originated by people outside the social group, why was the east the point of reference?[49] The observation that pre-Diocletianic *castella* and watchtowers in Arabia were oriented toward the east is not likely to provide a reasonable grounding for the

45. Accepted by Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1927), p. 494; Moritz, col. 2388; and by the great Burton, according to Murphy, p. 189; discussed and rejected by Mordtmann, p. 156. The phonological grounds he uses deserve discussion. The only ancient spelling of a cognate of *saracēni* in a Semitic writing system is *sarqī*, given in the two Talmuds; Syriac materials may be excluded, as firmly within the Greek sphere. If this were a simple loan from a comparable Semitic sound system, the etymological question would be closed: the Arabic root behind the name would have to be *srq* (see below). It is not. There are three objections to taking the information from the Talmuds at face value: (1) Talmudic Aramaic *sarqī* could as well be a loan from Latin or Greek as from Arabic; the use of Aramaic *q* rather than Aramaic *k* for Latin/Greek *c/k* is exemplified several thousand times over; this objection Mordtmann cites only in passing; (2) *sarqī* could well reflect a popular etymology related to Talmudic Aramaic *s^erāq* (see below); (3) the structure of the sibilant system of Arabic at least up to the time of the Arab grammarians is difficult. So, despite Mordtmann's wise citation of it, the Talmudic evidence is virtually useless. Moritz's comments on the phonology are bizarre, col. 2389.

46. O. Eissfeldt, "Das alte Testament im Lichte der safatenischen Inschriften," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 104 (1954), 88-118, rpt. in *Kleine Schriften*, ed. R. Sellheim and F. Maass (Tübingen: Mohr, 1966), III, 289-317. This essay must be used with caution; see Jamme, *Safaitic Notes*, p. 1 (cited *infra*, sub n. 60).

47. Moritz, col. 2388; his position is strangely nuanced: he takes *qedem* as an old proper name, later interpreted as "east" and then rendered into Arabic.

48. G. E. Mendenhall, "Mari," in *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader*, ed. E. F. Campbell, Jr. and D. N. Freedman (Garden City, N. Y.: Anchor Books, 1964), pp. 3-20, esp. pp. 16-18.

49. Al-Kirmilī, p. 342, is wrong in insisting that *saracēni must* be a designation of foreign origin, although one symphathizes with this reaction in the face of the etymological darkness.

etymology.[50] The only serious explanation is the one mentioned earlier, referring to the orientation of Palestine toward the steppe fringe across the Jordan; but, one may well object, that is not where the people came from, and the area could never have supported a major segment of the population.[51] Nonetheless, this etymology retains, in the teeth of the uncertainty of the situation, some plausibility.

Another etymon favored in modern discussion is Aramaic *s^erāq* "emptiness, barrenness," whence would be derived a relational adjective meaning "those who live in barren land."[52] This root is limited to Aramaic which cannot be regarded as the best field for etymological explanation of what is likely to have been originally a self-designation, but it is otherwise unobjectionable philologically. The fact, unrealized by Murphy, the etymology's originator, that the Talmuds may link the two words, would give the explanation a parallel in the ancient world, which (especially because the linkage is not exploited for a folk etymology) may be regarded as strong support. The argumentation, however, is so over-determinate that the matter fairly cries out for a larger historical context, which is not available.

It has, finally, been suggested that *saracēni* is derived from the Semitic root found in both Arabic *šarāqa* and Akkadian *šarāqu* "to steal,"[53] and means "thieves, plunderers." Other designations for outlying population groups do have such a sense. The ᶜApiru of the Late Bronze Age are, though properly speaking "transgressors" of political boundaries, often effectively little more than robbers and brigands.[54] The Egyptian name for the inhabitants of southernmost Palestine in the second millennium, Shosou, may be related to Semitic *šsh* "to pillage, loot."[55] Furthermore, brigandage was a constant

50. E. Kornemann, "Die neueste Limesforschung (1900-1906) im Lichte der römisch-kaiserlichen Grenzpolitik," *Klio*, 7 (1907), 113; W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrachie*, Bibliothéque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 62 (Paris: Boccard, 1946), p. 154, n. 3.

51. On this difficulty, see Murphy, p. 169 and al-Kirmilī, p. 342, who rightly notes that the stock of Southwestern Asiatic directional usages simply does not include this one.

52. This opinion apparently originated with C. C. R. Murphy, who cites the root erroneously as *srk*; he makes a compensatory error in citing the Talmudic form of the name and is thus correct in making the forms agree.

53. Mordtmann, p. 157, says the Arabic part of this etymology dates back to the humanist Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609), who acquired a knowledge of both Arabic and Hebrew as a young man; it is discussed and rejected by Murphy, p. 189. The Akkadian word was first invoked by H. Winckler, "Saracenen," in *Altorientalische Forschungen*, II, pt. 1 (Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1898), pp. 74-76, who, however, was wrong about the meaning of the word; he thought, following Delitzsch, that the root meant "to be alone" and *šarraqu*, "waste-dweller." His lead was followed in part by A. Kammerer, *Pétra et la Nabatène* (Paris: Geuthner, 1929), p. 263.

54. Mendenhall, *Tenth Generation*, pp. 122-41.

55. R. Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shousou des documents égyptiens* (Leiden: E. J. Brill Ltd., 1971), pp. 261-64.

problem for Roman authorities in Arabia and Syria.[56] Ancient classical writers employ the words for brigands, Greek λῃσταί and Latin *latrones*,[57] in connection with the *saracēni*, but not as synonymous terms. Despite the association between *saracēni* and raiding activities, it is nowhere clear that the term *saracēni* by itself ever meant "robbers."

The Proposal

Although all three of the current etymologies discussed above have some degree of plausibility, none has a compelling historical justification. The Rawwāfā Bilingual provides information which leads to an etymology which has both historical and phonetic plausibility. The terms used for nation/federation in the Bilingual are Greek ἔθνος and Nabatean *šrkt.* The latter, as recognized by Milik, is related to the Classical Arabic verb *šarika* "to share, participate, partake; be(come) a partner in a sale, purchase, inheritance or affair; II, to sell a part or share of what one has purchased for that for which it was purchased; IV, to make someone a partner, associate, or colleague," etc.[58] Thus, in Arabic *šarīk* means "sharer, participant, partaker, partner, associate, colleague." The term *šarikat* "association" shows no political specialization in Classical Arabic; in modern usage, it means simply "company, economic corporation." The related noun *širk* refers to "the sharing of land and its produce, marriage alliance, sharing of control over a slave"; the Yemeni word *širkat,* "a piece of the flesh of a slaughtered camel in which the people share," brings to mind the prominent role of animal sacrifice in both Northwest Semitic and early Roman covenant formation.[59] More technical legal usage occurs: *'al-faridatu l-mušarrakatu* "shared duty" and *'al-mas'alatu l-musarrakatu* "shared affair" are terms for the portions of an inhertance in which the male children of the mother of a family and their half-brothers, the sons of both mother and father, are made to share.

The word *šrkt* may also occur in some Safaitic inscriptions among the pre-Islamic North Arabian texts[60] and it occurs once in a Hatran text.[61] Proper

56. Dio Cassius 75.2.4; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 284; Ammianus Marcellinus 28.2.11-14. See in general R. Macmullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967), pp. 192-241, 255-68.

57. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 6.30.125; Ammianus Marcellinus 24.2.4; Julian, *Orationes* 1.21B; cf. Jerome, *Epistola* 126 = *PL* XXII, col. 1086; John Cassian, *Collationes* 6.1=*PL*, XLIX, col. 645A.

58. E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon,* 1 vol. in 8 (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863-93), bk. i, 1541-43. The religious sense of Form IV, *'ašraka billahi* "to set up or attribute associates to God, i.e., to be a polytheist, idolator" (and at least sometimes a Christian) is probably not apposite.

59. G. E. Mendenhall, "Puppy and Lettuce in North-West Semitic Covenant Making," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 133 (1954), 26-30.

60. The word occurs in the phrase *bn šrk* "among associates" in Oxtoby Safaitic Text 58, according to W. G. Oxtoby, *Some Inscriptions of the Safaitic Bedouin*, American Oriental Society Series, vol. 50 (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society,

names derived from the root are attested.[62]

The Rawwafa usage is more or less contemporaneous with these occurrences. It may then be suggested that the term *saracēni* was derived from a pre-Islamic Arabic cognate of Classical Arabic *šrkt* which meant "association" in the politically specialized sense of "federation." This term was loaned into the Nabatean lingua diplomatica and thence passed into Latin and Greek usage. Although perhaps initially applied only to the Thamudic confederates of the Antonine period, the term was generalized, after the collapse of that peace, from the Thamud to include their congeners and neighbors.

The problem of the Semitic etymology of *saracēni* is more or less distinct from the morphology of the word. When previous scholars have referred to word termination *-ēn,* they have generally tied it to the Arabic oblique plural ending after the relational adjective ending (i.e., *-īyyīn*). In fact, a much simpler explanation is available: *-ēn* is derived from the *-ān* "hypocoristicon," best known in its Hebrew form *-on/-un* from the names Simeon and Zebulon.[63] This explanation is not tied to the etymology proposed here.

The transference of the term *šrkt* to the Roman world is the result of alliances which could only be established with major political and social units like the Thamudic confederation. Such diplomatic activity depended on pre-

1968), p. 48. This reading is rejected by A. Jamme who reads *sn šbk* "making nets" in his review of Oxtoby, *Orientalia,* 40 (1971), 274-86, esp. p. 284, in which he notes many inadequacies in Oxtoby's publication. Jamme himself reads the verbal noun of the simple stem of the verb *šrk* in a text in the Littmann Safaitic corpus discussed in *Safaitic Notes (Commentary of JaS 44-176)* (Washington, D.C., 1970), p. 88, n. 150. It must be noted that because of the size and complexity of the pre-Islamic Arabic and South Arabian corpora, few generalizations are safe and we do not wish to claim competence in this difficult area. For an introduction to the state of the field, see A. Jamme, "Un nouvel inventaire des noms propres et des textes arabes préislamiques," in *Miscellanées d'ancient arabe II* (Washington, D.C., 1971), pp. 93-150.

61. Referred to by Milik, p. 57, but not yet published to the best of our knowledge. The similar formants discussed in J. T. Milik, "A propos d'un atelier monétaire d'Adiabéne: Natounia," *Revue numismatique,* VIé, 4 (1962), 51-58, esp. pp. 56-8, are probably not relevant.

62. In Palmyrene, Jurgen Kurt Stark cites *šrykw* "associate, friend," vocalized in Greek σορείχος and in Latin *suricus,* in *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), p. 116. Seventy-two cases of *šrk* as a name occur in Safaitic texts, along with one Qatabanian (South Arabian) case; the related name *bhšrkt* occurs in Thamudic texts; these references are drawn from G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions,* Near and Middle East Series 8 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 123 and 347; this volume is not entirely reliable, and we have not checked the relevant citations. See Jamme's review of the book, cited in n. 60.

63. The ending has many more functions than as a marker of hypocoristica; for a general survey, see Frauke Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit,* Studia Pohl 1 (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1967), pp. 51-53 and the literature cited in n. 216; on the related Arabic broken plural patterns *fiᶜlān fuᶜlān,* see W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language,* 3rd. ed., 2 vols, rpt. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1933-67), I, 216-18.

cise information and must have required informants familiar with the four languages, Latin, Greek, Nabatean, and Thamudic, involved. The burden that the bilingual equivalence of *šrkt* and *ἔθνος* can bear is not clear, and it is uncertain whether other social groupings of the region used the same term and thus helped popularize it, or whether the Thamudic alliance was crucial. The other diplomatic language of the Rawwāfā inscriptions, *ḥfy* "to receive with honor" and *rmṣ* "to bring peace," may also have been in more general use.

The later obscurity and confusion about the meaning of *saracēni,* which continued into the Byzantine period, may have resulted from the general disruption of North Arabian and Syrian political structures which took place in the third century. If Caskel's overview is correct, a broad development from the collapse of the Nabatean kingdom in the years after 106 through the fall of the petty states of Mesopotamia in 227 to the fall of Palmyra in 273, led to a proliferation of small-scale social organizations along the borders of the Roman empire in Southwestern Asia. The populace, formerly dependent on the now degenerate caravan trade, was forced into symbiotic coexistence with the empire on the terms of brigandage and looting. The result was the disruption of Roman relations with frontier groups almost as soon as they were stabilized. The campaigns against the Saracens in the third century and the bolstering of the defensive system confirms the picture of disorder sketched by Caskel. The development of the system of client kings and the use of auxiliary units from these regions are other dimensions of the Roman response to the crisis.

The reconstruction of a federational state in the history of Roman-North Arabian relations is not so unlikely as it might seem at first glance. The only substantially correct information available in later literary sources about *saracēnī* is the tradition of the Byzantine period, represented in the fifth-century geographer Marcianus of Heraclea, that they had many names and lived in North Arabia.[64] Classical and Byzantine authors had at best an inadequate and limited perception of the Arab world; that they inadvertently preserved a term for an Arabian political organization, even if it does not help in clarifying the nature of such organizations, can only encourage the student of ancient social structure.

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64. *Periplus Maris Exteri* 17a, in *Geographia Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1855), I, 526.

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TRANSLATION/TRADUCTION

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Medieval European Society as Seen in Two Eleventh-Century Texts of Michael Psellos

[PART II]

The Affiancing of Underage Children and the Court Case against Elpidios Kenchris

Introduction to the Text

With this second eleventh-century Byzantine work, bearing the date "August 1056," we enter into the upper-class aristocratic and petty nobility environment of Constantinople. The persons appearing or named herein, from the author[1] to the principles in the litigation, to Constantine IX, the Empress Theodora, the witnesses, etc., were all part of that Byzantine upper-class society, whose outlook, traditions and ways of life have filtered down into these our own time.

The second text presents Michael Psellos in a new and different situation, for here unlike his role in the above composition, in the "memorandum" neither he nor any member of his family are directly involved. That commentary leads to the "controversy" mentioned above[2] and discussed at length further on.[3] As to the events in the life of Michael Psellos,[4] it appears that following the loss of his daughter Styliani, he returned to the imperial court. It is likely that his absence had to do with the events told about in the previous text, for he mentions in the *Chronographia,* VI. 196 and 197, that all kinds of adversities fell upon him, but also that while he was away his influence at court had been undermined by rivals and courtiers. Therefore because of those conditions ". . . the fickle character of the Emperor [Constantine IX Monomachos] and probably his own personal grief determined his decision to quit the court and Constantinople; for hi points out: ". . . We [the reference is to John

1. Could it have been Michael Psellos?
2. See above introduction to Part I.
3. See below, fn. 53.
4. See below, Part III, G.

Xiphilinos],[5] preferred a monk's life to the inferior existence of a courtier. . . ."[6] Finally, after overcoming the emperor's opposition to their departure John Xiphilinos first and Michael Psellos sometime later retired to a monastery on Mount Olympos in Bithynia, Asia Minor.

Soon enough however, the monastic environment began to oppress Michael Psellos and it is known that he had difficulties with the other monks who envied his erudition and interests in philosophy and learning. Then unexpectedly events took a turn for the better in Constantinople and at the court they had an indirect effect on Psellos and his monastic existence.

On 11 January 1055, the Emperor Constantine IX died without leaving a successor; but eventually, out of the confusion, Theodora (last of the Macedonian dynasty) was placed upon the throne. It may have been soon after her enthronement that Theodora, worn out by events, courtly functions, administrative problems and annoyances,[7] sent for Michael Psellos. Thereupon (and in spite of the indignation and open reaction[8] of his monastic community), Psellos returned once again to the capital and court.

The second composition examined below, the memorandum for Empress Theodora, belongs to this later period. It is one of several juridical memoranda (*καστικά*) attributed to Michael Psellos.[9] The literary style of this work, its general atmosphere and content are different from those of the oration. Yet while the memorandum was not intended to be a work of literature, it possesses nevertheless many of the features of Michael Psellos' art, among them the careful internal organization, the flowing literary style, the philosophical refelctions, the subtle observations and the characterizations of individuals (their judgement behaviour, lack of foresight, etc.). There are also the notations intended for the special reader (i.e., the Empress Theodora).

The memorandum deals with an ordinary civil lawsuit, but contains wealth of information about society in eleventh-century Constantinople and also about individuals, law and juridical procedures in the civil-law courts of Constantinople, witnesses, etc. Not only is upper-class medieval society reflected upon here, but also the place and importance of the emperor in matters concerning law. At the same time, the work reflects on the outlook and attitudes of the author towards a number of existing conditions.

The main issue in the litigation had to do with the dissolution of an en-

5. See below, Part III, C and G.
6. *Chronographia*, VI. 300 ff.
7. See below, Part III, G.
8. See the verses satirizing Michael Psellos because of his desire to return to Constantinople and the court. Also see Psellos' angry and devastating reply to the monk Iakovos who had been chosen to compose those verses. Both texts are found in L. Sternback, "Ein schmägedict des Michael Psellos," *Wiener Studien*, 25 (1903), 10-39.
9. See Sathas.

gagement contract, concluded between the plaintiff Vestarchis[10] Michael, who was acting for his underage daughter, and the defendant Elpidios Kenchris. The case would have been easily settled if it had been restricted to the main issue, but it will be seen that the Vestarchis raised additional questions, thus extending the trial and introducing complications.

Michael Psellos' "prologue" (or introduction) to this work is a philosophical reflection on the individuals and issues in the case. He refers to *Foresight* and wonders whether the lawsuit would have been necessary "if" the individuals involved had the foresight of events to come; also, "if" they had an understanding of human character. Reflections of this kind are an interesting and characteristic feature of Psellos' compositions, and are intended not only as an attractive "ornament," enriching the work and ushering the reader into the philosophical aspects of the matter under consideration.

In view of the complications introduced into the court case by Vestarchis Michael, the memorandum explains that there were actually two trials (and two decisions). The first trial took place in the imperial palace, probably in some special room or hall in the presence of Empress Theodora. One of the Vestarchis' requests was examined, while a second trial was held in the civil court of Velum,[11] where possibly Michael Psellos may have sat as one of the judges.

This second text consists of the following sections:

1. A philosophical prologue or introduction.
2. A presentation of the principles involved in the litigation. In this section it explains how Vestarchis Michael's concerns for his adopted daughter led to her having been engaged to a young man named Elpidios Kenchris. There are also some details about the engagement contract, and the "gifts" given to the young man. The author comments on the vestarchis' liberality, and the "importance of placing emphasis on the soul, instead of material things". For it was shown soon enough that all these things made not the least impression on Elpidios, who revealed his actual character by bringing trouble to the vestarchis.

10. A court title or official of the palace equivalent in rank to a chamberlin who was in charge of the imperial wardrobe. In the eleventh century, however, it had become merely an honorary title of the Byzantine court.

11. In eleventh-century Constantinople, there were two civil courts: one was the court of Velum, housed in the area of the former hippodrome; and the other was known as the Court of the Hippodrome. Bothe courts were located within the grounds of the palace. Their association with the word *hippodrome* has caused considerable confusion among historians. For information about the two courts, see L. Bréhier, *Le mond byzantin,* II, 186, where he writes: ". . . dans une galerie du palais . . ." there was a covered hippodrome where judges (*οἱ κριταὶ τῆς βήλου*) would try cases. In the other civil court, there were the judges of the Hippodrome (*οἱ κριταὶ τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου*). Some judges like John Xiphilinos and Later Michael Attaleiates served in both courts. See below, Part III, C

3. This section deals with the troubles that befell the vestarchis, but also his efforts to resolve them. We are told how he attempted to help the young man improve his mind, but also to bare him seek out better and more virtuous companions, and this in order to improve his behaviour and way of living. But, it was explained, all those concerns and efforts on the vestarchis' side were useless, for Elpidios became increasingly worse. Then as a result of those futile efforts, and because of his despair, the vestarchis turned to the "highest authority," to the Empress Theodora. It is related that his supplication and the sympathetic response of the empress, who "knew" of his problems, led to the first trial and a decision against the young man. This resulted in stripping him of his highest dignities and posts that had been acquired for him by the vestarchis.
4. This is one of the most interesting sections of the memorandum, telling about the second trial where the vestarchis, Elpidios and his defense lawyer (along with many others) appear in the courtroom, where we are able to follow the proceedings of a Byzantine civil court.
5. In this section, it is explained that with the acceptance of Vestarchis Michael to pay a fine (as had been stipulated in the engagement contract), the trial and its main issue were resolved. But thereupon, the vestarchis introduced a newer issue, justified by the empress's decision, and set forth in her writ, thus bringing complications and extending the trial.
6. In the concluding section of the "memorandum," the "newer" demands and the entire trial are resolved and all ends to the satisfaction of plaintiff and defendant. The closing lines of the work explain why and for whom it was composed along with the date "August 1056."

II
The Affiancing of Underage Children and the Court Case against Elpidios Kenchris[12]

1. To be able to foresee the Future, to utilize this [ability] in the Present, and to act perspicaciously is a sign of Wisdom and in the nature of the Divine. Yet human beings that we are, we cannot avoid committing errors [in judgment] since our lack of knowledge about forthcoming developments plunges us into involuntary situations. Frequently therefore, when we considered our judgments to be 'correct,' the unforeseen future contradicted this, because happenings that were to come could not have been anticipated. . . . This argument set forth in our introduction [to the present "memorandum"] will become explicit in the following exposition of the case.

12. See below, fn. 53.

2. The most reverent monk Michael, who had been appointed vestarchis[13] by the emperor [i.e., Constantine IX] and Dean of Philosophers (*"Υπατος τῶν φιλοσόφωο*), had also enriched his mind with extensive learning. This person after having adopted[14] a little girl, gave her a good name, and in time changed his status to that of a natural father; and as he had no other children all his devotion and affection were concentrated on her. For he was not only concerned with the girl's immediate needs, but also with those of her future. So it was that without waiting for the time of the girl's puberty when it is the custom[15] to arrange marriages and legal relationships and while she was still an adolescent . . . she was promised to a young man named Elpidios. He was the son of John Kenchris,[16] the protospatharios,[17] and had just passed the age of adolescence, being twice the girl's age. This custom [of affiancing children] persisted [from older times] and is continued by many, while the law recognizes such practices. . . . It brings no objections to those [parents, guardians, relatives, etc.] who arrange such matters; and this because no one is cognizant of his life's span,[18] or whether he will still be alive when his children grow up. [The vestarchis] therefore sought to resolve these matters beforehand by bringing future couples together. But also in his case there were additional reasons prompting him to take care of these matters. . . . At the time he was close to the emperor "kyr" [an abbreviation for *κύριος*, i.e., sire, or lord] Constantine Monomachos; and he was also prominent in the senate.[19] Therefore, because of his position and influence in the imperial court, it seemed propituous (as he himself noted and many had pointed out to him) to take care of the child's future.

Perhaps he feared that he might lose all opportunities if changes would take place [in the court], then he would be regretful, but in vain. For learned as he was, he knew well that nothing remains static, as in Nature. This [phenomenon] escapes the attention of many; for things that seem 'immovable' actually move and turn around! Therefore like a captain, who prior to the

13. See above, fn. 10.

14. The adoption of children in Byzantium was common. It was encouraged by the church and was facilitated by law. See P. Kalligas, *Σύστημα τοῦ Ρωμαϊκοῦ δικαίου. . . . 'Ελλαδα*, 4 vols. (Athens: Fexi, 1930), IV. See also A. P. Christophilopoulou, *Σχέσεις γονέων καί τεκνων κατὰ τό Βυζαντινόν δικαιον* (Ahtnes: Sakkoulas, 1946), p. 25.

15. See R. Guilland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines, Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten*, 35 (Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1967).

16. He may have been a personal friend of the vestarchis. They belonged to the same social class.

17. The protospathariate was one of the highest dignities in the Byzantine court, but like other offices, its importance kept changing. In the eleventh century, it was only an honorary title of high rank, while in the twelfth century it disappeared to be replaced by others. See Guilland, *Recherches.*

18. The average life-span in the middle ages was about twenty-five years.

19. Michael Psellos had been appointed President of the Senate by Constantine IX.

overturning of his ship, hastens to use the oars, so a leader resolves conditions according to best interests. Therefore one can readily understand [the vestarchis'] actions, and not accuse him [of unreasonable behaviour].

Thus, after having refused many [candidates for the maiden's hand], some of them who were nobles and belonged to illustrious families, Vestarchis Michael engaged his adopted daughter to Elpidios. But from that time on, his relationship and his troubles with the young man commenced!

In the meanwhile however, the vestarchis had the young man enlisted among the *protospatharioi*[20] (and had him placed among the imperial secretaries), while at the same time Elpidios was admitted to the group of judges of the Antiphonetou[21] (in the Hippodrome). As to the protospathariate [a dignity acquired for him by the vestarchis], it was considered part of the girl's dowry . . . while the other dignities, acquired for him later on, were considered a gesture of good will.

[According to the engagement contract] Vestarchis Michael promised the girl's fiancé fifty pieces of 'etched gold'[22](. . . . *λίτρας κεχαραγμένου χρυείου*). Ten of these had been given to Elpidios in gold coins, twenty in various objects,[23] and the remaining twenty were made up by the value of the protospathariate [dignity]. Furthermore, along with these the vestarchis had previously given Elpidios a gift of twelve gold coins, and later on added sixty more to the original sum. . . .

The vestarchis should have been more careful and not given the young man such a large sum all at one time. Nor [should he have] bestowed on him other external offerings, and adding further dignities. Instead he should have shown him affection and good will from the bottom of his heart. Or after having set up the ship's keel, [he should have] proceeded building up the ribs. Yet he, I know not why, concerned himself with material things instead of dealing with the soul. Therefore as Elpidios was dazzled by the glitter of those external offerings, and also because he preferred his seeming glory, he became indifferent to the vestarchis' admonitory words.

For while he attempted to cultivate the young man's soul Elpidios rejected those concerns; and while the vestarchis would give him books to read and study the young man would seek out unmanageable horses and the company[24] of entertainers and horsemen (. . . *μίμους* and *ἡνίοχοι*, i.e., actors and

20. That dignity was acquired for Elpidos by the vestarchis through his influence at the court. See above, fn. 17.

21. I.e., the Central Bureau of Private Domain. See R. Guilland, "Un compte-rendu de procès par Psellos," *Byzantinoslavica*, 20 (1959), 153-70; and 21 (1960), 1-37.

22. A Byzantine gold coin: livre d'or" or "monaie de compte." See Bréhier, *Le monde byzantin*, III, p. 164 f.

23. They may have been furniture, utensils, animals, property, and other items.

24. The word used in the text is *συζῆν*, i.e., he lived together with those persons.

charioteers, but referring also to stablegrooms). Thus each one of them (the vestarchis and Elpidios) [prompted by different personal motivations] sought, the one to make the young man honorable, while the latter continued to make himself an object of shame. The struggle was intense, and mor dazzling was the victory of the young man who revealed thereby his total ignorance and went off after having defeated completely the vestarchis' efforts.

3. These matters troubled Vestarchis Michael greatly and how could this have been otherwise? [He regretted having chosen Elpidios as a future son-in-law] and would heap curses on the suitor. [Yet in spite of these sentiments and regrets] the vestarchis did not attempt to dissolve the engagement at once; for he still had hopes that in the near future a change would come over Elpidios and this through his own, good influence. With the passing of time however, the youth's character and ways, instead of undergoing a change for the better, became increasingly worse! Not only did he become more deaf to the vestarchis' teaching, but [he sought out and] pursued a way of life that was intense and violent (*ἐπιτατικόν καὶ σύντονον*). Although those developments discouraged greatly Vestarchis Michael, he persisted nevertheless in his attempts to help and influence the young man to have him drop the company of actors and buffoons (*μιμων καὶ γελιαστῶν*) and to associate instead with persons who were [modest and] wise (*σωφρονέστατοι*, i.e., most wise), benefitting thusly from their propriety.

propriety.

Elpidios however was indifferent to the vestarchis' counsels; and as he continued to pursue those pleasures closest to his nature, the latter no longer cared. Nor did he attempt to hinder him in any manner even though he nursed hopes of persuading him to follow a better way of life.

He therefore had Elpidios promoted to even higher positions, and at the same time acquired prominent posts for him. He also petitioned the emperor [i.e., Constantine IX] to appoint the young man as judge at the court of Velum;[25] while he had him further honored with the title and office of *thesmographos* [i.e., imperial secretary occupied with the redaction of law], and later on with the post of *mystographos.*[26] Furthermore, the vestarchis also had Elpidios promoted to the grade of *exactor* [i.e., an official in the tax collector's bureau]. Yet all these posts and honors [neither improved, nor] made the least difference to Elpidios, nor did his attitude towards the vestarchis become amiable, while his conduct also remained unchanged.

Later on, Vestarchis Michael fell sick and almost died; and he decided thereupon to withdraw from the imperial court and his other worldly activi-

25. This appointment, if it does refer to 1055, must seem curious in view of what is told later.

26. See below fn. 39.

ties to the monastery. The emperor however refused[27] to let him go, but the vestarchis insisted and even ignored his threats, causing him to relent. He even showed much concern for the vestarchis' family, and for his relatives and their needs. Thereupon, Vestarchis Michael discarded his [courtly] tunic along with his layman's ways, put on a monkish robe (*τρίβωνα*) and entered the monastic world.

A short while later when his malady had subsided [and was easier to bear] and the emperor was willing to grant him any favour whatsoever, the vestarchis asked for only one thing: that Elpidios be elevated to the high rank of *πατρίκιος* [in the eleventh century an important title given by the emperor usually to the highest officials: civil, military, etc.]. The emperor against his will granted the vestarchis his request because the empress[28] had begged him to do this. When all had been accomplished Vestarchis Michael left hurriedly for the Holy Mountain (Olympos) in order to join the ascetics there and gather (*ληψόμενος*) information about monastic life.[29] Then, after having availed [himself] as much as possible from that spiritual source, he returned once more to the secular world and this in order to arrange his affairs so that his remaining years might be without cares.

Instead of this however and from then on, an 'Iliad' of calmities beset him; for [during his absence from the capital] Elpidios had found the opportunity to carry on as he pleased and this in no hidden manner but openly and the opposite of virtue.[30] As to his fiancée, the young man had frequented her company as much as the domains of learning and philisophy.[31]

At loss and not knowing what to do, the vestarchis, after having turned to all accessible sources for help, directed himself finally to the last and highest—I mean the empress of the Romans,[32] and of almost all the universe. He therefore addressed a letter to Theodora reminding her of all the benefices she had bestowed on Elpidios and, that during the period when she had been reigning by herself,[33] she had conferred on him another gift as a further offering.

The vestarchis mentioned in his letter how he had conducted himself towards Elpidios and how he had responded to this. He had been repaid with loathing and with disobedience, while at the same time the youth felt hatred

27. Note the resemblance of these details with those told in the *Chronographia*, VI.
28. The reference here is unclear; nor which empress is meant.
29. The reasons for this "research" are not clear, unless he may have been collecting material for composing the life of some saint.
30. This implies indecencies not to be mentioned.
31. The meaning here is that he did not care at all for his fiancée or for learning.
32. I.e., Theodora. Note the appelation "Romans" and not the "Greeks" which persisted down into the fifteenth century.
33. Or 1055-56.

for his finacée. [Furthermore, the vestarchis pointed out that Elpidios] refused to conduct himself in a proper [social] manner, [in accordance with his class and status] or according to the vestarchis' guidance. Moreover, the letter mentioned that the young man had thrown away his books and that instead of these he preferred the company of the most shameful persons.

It was because of those matters that the vestarchis had repudiated Elpidios Kenchris and wanted the betrothal dissolved. As to the dignities given him, the vestarchis explained in his letter of supplication to the empress, that he did not want them, since his relationship with the young man had been terminated. But, he added, as to the titles bestowed upon him on two occasions, he would be happy if the best of these [i.e., that of πατρίκιος] might be reserved for the occasion when a new betrothal contract [for his daughter] would be concluded, but he added, if this could not be done, he would be happy just the same. The most gracious empress, after having taken note of these matters [and] being aware of the vestarchis' troubles,[34] was stirred by compassion, and granted him what he had requested. Thereupon she handed down [a writ, or] final binding judgment, whereby the high title and the offices were taken away from Elpidios. . . .[35]

As to the other issue mentioned in the letter or the matter of dissolving the engagement, this was assigned to the special court of Velum that handled such [civil] cases. . . . Concerning the first case, we [the judges] did not have the authority to question what had been already adjudicated by the empress; instead we were to occupy ourselves with the pros and cons of Vestarchis Michael's request concerning the dissolution of the betrothal. Therefore, we were called forth and gathered in session, then [we] had the two parties in the litigation summoned. They were ushered into [the court], on the one side Monk Michael, the former vestarchis, and on the other [the former] *patrikios* with his defense counsel "kyr" [i.e., sire] John Kordakas.

When [the court] called upon the vestarchis to explain the reasons why he wanted to terminate the engagement [of his daughter to Elpidios], it appeared that he was reluctant to air publicly his personal affairs. He began, however, by telling about the benefices he had acquired for the young man, when he had been able. . . . He also mentioned how he had been treated in turn by Elpidios and this included manevolence . . . loathing [of the vestarchis] and of his turing away from learning. . . ; there was also his indescent behaviour.

Nor did Elpidios pay any attention to his suggestions, or try to conduct himself according to the deportment of the senatorial [i.e., upper] class. [In-

34. It is implied that the empress knew of the vestarchis's difficulties, also of Elpidios' vices.

35. The text tells that the belt (ζώνη)—the insignia of his high title (i.e., *patrikos*)—was taken away from him.

stead he did the opposite, and] kept seeking out the company of actors (μίμως) and other disreputable persons.[36] The young man neither cared to improve himself, nor did entreaties and reprimands have the least effect on him. His character therefore remained unchanged and inflexible; nor was he ever willing to apologize for his behaviour, either by words or action. The vestarchis also mentioned that the young man detested his fiancée, and behaved towards her in an enemy-like manner, and yet it was because of her that he had açquired great wealth and a number of offices.[37]

It was not only Vestarchis Michael who spoke of these matters, but he also brought forth indisputable witnesses. There were four of them: the consul Theodoros Myralides (who was master of ceremonies [in the court],[38] the two Xiritai brothers (Ephrosynos who was a *mystographos,*[39] and Gabriel who was a *thesmographos*[40] and finally there was the Thesmographos Michael, who was also an overseer of the costumesellers (ἔξαρος[41] τῶν βεστιοπρατῶν) in the capital.

The consul Myralides gave [the court] an account of Elpidios' harshness of character, of the hatred he bore Vestarchis Michael, and of the aversion he had for his fiancée. The Xiritai brothers [in their depositions] supported those assertions and added that Elpidios did not wish to live according to the vestarchis suggestions, but did exactly the opposite. The Thesmographos Michael repeated what the other witnesses had told the court, but mentioned also the ingratitude expressed by the young man towards the vestarchis. He told about the youth's insolence and expressed dislike for being under the salutary guidance of his benefactor.

[The witnesses and their depositions] were in accord with the complaints set forth by Vestarchis Michael in his letter of entreaty to our great empress and supported their veracity. And it had been, because of them [i.e., their allegations], that the excellent soul (θαυμασία ψυχή), moved by an imperial point of view, gave forth her wise decision. Therein she had referred to Elpidios as "a living image of wickedness" (στήλην ἔμψυχον κακοή θους ψυχῆς).

There remained, however, still another matter to be resolved by the court, that was the dissolution of the betrothal and its termination according to law.

36. He means the riffraff of Constantinople.

37. This was acquired for Elpidos by the vestarchis through his court influence.

38. Consul (ὕπατος) was a senatorial rank and belonged to the fourth class of dignities in the Byzantine court. See the *Kletorologion of Philotheus.* See further Guilland, *Recherches,* pp. 158-60.

39. An imperial secretary who dealt with the secret correspondence of the state and emperor.

40. A secretary of the Byzantine administration who worked on the writing and editing of laws and imperial legal documents.

41. Originally, the title of Exarchos was a military and political distinction, but like other titles in Byzantium, its functions and importance kept changing.

[In consequence] the judges offered Vestarchis Michael one of two choices.[42] It meant that he should either provide [specific] evidence, related to the above mentioned complaints if this existed,[43] and settle the lawsuit at once [in a direct and simple manner] with no actual loss to him [in terms of money or respect].

Otherwise, if he did not want to do this he should then abide by the [default] clause [set forth in the engagement] contract . . . , pay the 'penalty,' and terminate the issue in that manner.

After a brief silence, during which the vestarchis appeared struggling with his thoughts, he replied: 'As for me O laws, judges and all you present here [in the courtroom], if I ever wanted to be ashamed of these white hairs of mine, and he pointed to his head, and if I would attempt at this time to appear as one different from the person of my earlier years, why then I may have given free reign to my tongue and spoken of unbecoming things just for the sake of fifteen litras of gold.[44] First of all I would not humiliate myself by telling about matters that are hidden and indecent and which [if brought out into the open] would bring embarassment to many. This is something I could never do; and all of you here are witness. I therefore consent willingly to pay the fine, undergoing thereby a personal loss rather than have many persons suffer injury and be exposed to scandal.[45]

5. With these words silence fell over the court, as everyone was quiet and the work of the lawyers and judges came to an end. What further use would it be to debate "for or against" [as the litigation had been terminated] since the plaintiff had agreed to pay the fine and the dissolution of the engagement depended on the contract while this in turn was sustained by law.

Furthermore, the resolution of the lawsuit was also in accord with the penal clause . . . [since the vestarchis had] agreed to pay the fine, while the deposition of witnesses had brought an end to the engagement. Therefore both issues had been resolved and the only benefit for Vestarchis Michael was that he had preserved his honor, even though he had undergone a financial loss. While at the same time the reputations [of the vestarchis, of Elpidios and of others] had suffered no damage whatsoever. . . .[46]

42. This action of the judges apparently took the vestarchis by surprise. See below, fn. 53.

43. Or to explain, giving detailed information about Elpidios's actions.

44. The amount was based on the stipulation in the engagement contract; or "double the sum" (or twice seven and one-half *litras*) given the girl as surety when the contract was signed.

45. This decision of Vestarchis Michael was quite decent and showed him in a more favorable light. These and other impressions, however, are based on what the text sets forth. See Part III.

46. Here as in the first text a slight alignment of sentence order was necessary in the English translation for the sake of bringing related subject matter into proper sequence. Cf. the Greek text.

6. But then something else [another, newer issue] was introduced [into the court proceedings] as the Vestarchis Michael spoke about the dowry of his adopted daughter. He informed the court that Elpidios 'owed him twenty litras of gold' and this was for the "protospathariate" dignity, given to him as the contract showed as part of the girl's dowry. In his letter of entreaty to Empress Theodora, the vestarchis' had requested that certain higher dignities and offices be taken away from Elpidios; but that he be allowed to keep the protospathariate, as this had been part of the girl's dowry.[47] Vestarchis Michael also showed us[48] his letter [and the reply to this from the empress] wherein all the above details had been set forth. The letter of reply, telling of Elpidios' disgrace, had been sent to the Bureau of the Imperial Private Domain (*Σεκρέτου τοῦ Ἰδικοῦ*). The reply [from the empress] began with the words: '. . . It will be done according to your petition . . .' and because of this [Elpidios was allowed to keep the protospathariate and thus] the girl's dowry remained intact at the total value of fifty litras. . . .

For if Vestarchis Michael had given Elpidios so many offerings (*χάριτες*) and had helped him become wealthy, it was on account of his daughter. But the highest of those dignities [acquired for him] had been taken away, since he himself had given cause for this. [The vestarchis also pointed out that his daughter] had been deprived of her dowry and left to dishonor and penury.[49]

To all these assertions and complaints Elpidios sought to bring objections and reply to the vestarchis, while at the same time he attempted to give up the prospathariate dignity and throughout he gave the impression of speaking with shame, and mentioned that he realized from what a high rank he had fallen. At the same time he promised that Vestarchis Michael would suffer no further loss on his account.

[As to the dignity of *protospatharios,* it was suggested that] if it was not acceptible to Elpidios, he might try to exchange it for some other one, if this were possible. But the objection was also raised,[50] why should Elpidios be obliged to [keep the protospathariate, and to] pay the vestarchis "twenty litras of gold"? At the same time however it was pointed out: why should we the judges belabour the issue further, for [actually] the matter had already been adjudicated along with the above detail by the empress!

It had been in his letter of entreaty to her that the vestarchis requested the protospathariate to be left to Elpidios as it had been part of the girl's dowry, and given to him when the betrothal was concluded. Therefore, there was no

47. This commentary like others in the text is not very clear.

48. The word "us" refers to the judges and it appears there was more than one.

49. In view of the vestarchis's obvious means and wealth, this comment must seem curious.

50. Raised probably by Elpidos' defense lawyer, John Kordakas.

need for any additional words from us. At the same time it had been set forth [in the empress's decision] that it's value had to be paid to the vestarchis; and it had been in the special writ she issued that the reasons, why the protospathariate had been left to Elpidios, were set forth.

Therefore since judgment on these matters had already been given by that person of high rank, and already confirmed by law, [the following details remained]: Vestarchis Michael was obliged to pay fifteen "litras", representing the fine set forth in the penal clause [of the contract]. On the other hand, Elpidios had to pay him "twenty litras" for the protospathariate; and in this manner both parties would be compensated and satisfied by the sum received by each.

Since however the amount of the fine was not the same, or equal in value to the cost of the protospathariate, or because the fine amounted to fifteen "litras," while the title's value was twenty, it followed that Elpidios had to pay the difference of five "litras" [to the vestarchis]. But thereupon the court, in an expression of compassion for the young man, released him from that obligation,[51] but also specified that Elpidios should not attempt later on to ask for "double the sum," given to his fiancée at the time the engagement contract was signed.

Consequently, in order that these our [deliberations and] decisions in the above litigation become known to our Lady and Empress [Theodora], the

51. This independent decision of the judges must have shaken the vestarchis again. See above, fn. 42.

present memorandum (ὑπόμνημα) was prepared, the month of August[52] of the ninth indiction [1056].[53]

52. The Empress Theodora died in September, 1056.

53. The controversy mentioned in the introduction to the first text refers to the second work, the memorandum, and to the details found in the latter, i.e., the similarity of names, titles or dignities, events, rulers, semblances, and so forth. These facts for the years 1042, 1055 and 1056 have induced a number of contemporary scholars to assume that Vestarchis Michael and Michael Psellos (who used the name Constantine at the time) were one and the same person. Sathas and others based their assumptions upon the text published by the former in the *Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi.* This hypothesis was later refuted by Guilland in his "Un compte-rendu. . . ." Shortly after the appearance of this article, P. Lemerle," 'Roga' et rente d'Etat," *Revue des Etudes byzantines,* 25 (1967), 77-100, attempted to refute the arguments of Guilland. Lemerle's weighty arguments are closer to the interpretations of Sathas. Others as Alice Leroy-Molinghen in her "Styliane," *Byzantion,* 39 (1969), 155-63; "La descendance adoptive de Psellos," *ibid.*, 39 (1969), 284-317; and "A propos d'un jugement rendu contre Psellos," *ibid.*, 40 (1970), 238-39, has supported the position of Lemerle. After having studied this text and examined its relationship with other works of Michael Psellos, my own impression is that the plaintiff in the case, Vestarchis Michael, and Michael Psellos are two separate and distinctive persons. This conclusion is based upon the internal and historical evidence and on linguistic and stylistic details found in this and in Psellos's other compositions.

The assumptions of Sathas and of other later scholars and historians, interesting though they are, actually rest on insecure foundations, i.e., on the publication of Sathas's *Parisinus gr. 1182.* Furthermore, the title given to the text by Sathas: Δικαστικὴ ἀπόφασις κατὰ ψελλοῦ [sic] σημαίωμα does not exist in the manuscript used by him. Lemerle, explaining the Sathas title, points out in his article, "Roga et rente d'Etat," that ". . . ne signifie pas jugement d'après Psellos [the reference is to Guilland's study] mais decision contre Psellos. . . ." Alice Leroy-Molinghen sought to explain this important detail by noting in her "La descendance adoptive de Psellos," that the title given by Sathas ". . .dans ce manuscrit le titre . . . est omis" (p. 284, fn. 2).

But even assuming the existence of such a title, it is also worth noting that the interpretation "by" or "against" depends on one letter i.e., on an u, or on an v: κατὰ ψελλοῦ or κατὰ ψελλόν. Also, while Lemerle acknowledges that the memorandum was ". . . redigé par Psellos. . .," also ". . . plus ou moins adroitement comme emanant du tribunal . . . ." One wonders whether he could compose a decision against himself? Until further textual and other evidence however is brought forth, the problem cannot be examined in depth or resolved.

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REVIEW ARTICLE/CRITIQUE EXHAUSTIF

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Manifestations and Perceptions of the Transcendent in History

Jaroslav Pelikan. *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition* (100-600). vol. I of *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine.* Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1971. xxiii + 394 pp. $4.95 (paperback P644).

Eric Voegelin. *The Ecumenic Age.* vol. IV of *Order and History.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974. xvii + 340 pp. $15.00.

The two works under review here are similar in that each is from a five-volume series of vast scope and significance, each is the product of a mature scholar, each raises issues of fundamental historiographical concern, and each is grappling with the manifestation of the transcendent in human history. They are also different. Voegelin is a general historian and philosopher of history; Pelikan is a church historian and theologian. In the one instance, the whole of man's historical self-consciousness and his search for meaning and order is the object of analysis; in the other, it is the development of Christian doctrine. It would appear that the fourth volume of the one series and the first of the other would not be commensurate, and in one sense they are not. Yet they do in fact intersect chronologically and thematically, for in *The Ecumenic Age* Voegelin addresses the same Christian view of reality and human existence in eschatological tension which Pelikan describes in terms of Christian doctrine. I believe the comparison will be fruitful.

The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition reached its fourth impression (with paper covers at one-third the original price) in 1975 and clearly has been well received. Pelikan explicitly writes for "students of theology and church history" and "students of intellecutual history"—the sacred and the profane, if you will—and he intends that each volume "be a self-contained unit." Naturally this book has been widely reviewed—I have counted twenty-nine—and I have taken several of them into account. It should also be remarked that the volume of most interest to the readers of this journal, vol. II, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom,* appeared in 1974. Additionally, Pelikan has two monographs which "provide historical background and state methodological assumptions of the present work." (Bibliographical note, p. 361)

They are *Development of Christian Doctrine: Some Historical Prolegomena* (New Haven, 1969) and *Historical Theology: Continuity and Change in Christian Doctrine* (New York, 1971).

Pelikan's presentation is clear, straightforward, well-written, and almost effortless in its sovereignty over the primary source materials. Stephen Benko writing in *Church History* (1972), p. 109, likens the author to a giant striding across the islands of the Aegean Sea, pausing to describe the "appearance of the land" but with "no time to explore the depths." And indeed Pelikan has deliberately set clear limits to his work in *The Christian Tradition,* namely to present *the* tradition or the mainstream, and it is with this delimitation and its possibility/justification/meaningfulness that most of his critics have concerned themselves. Let us therefore begin with Pelikan's definition of his subject.

"What the church of Jesus Christ believes, teaches, and confesses on the basis of the word of God: this is Christian doctrine" (p. 1). Almost every reviewer has cited this sentence, and rightly so, but what follows helps put it into perspective. "Doctrine is not the only, not even the primary, activity of the church. The church worships God and serves mankind, it works for the transformation of this world and awaits the consummation of its hope in the next." "The church is always more than a school. . . But the church cannot be less than a school." Moreover, "the Christian church would not be the church as we know it without Christian doctrine." Pelikan then acknowledges that the definition of doctrine itself is the product of historical development, and thereby opens himself to criticism from Roman Catholic quarters for not adhering to a concept of the deposit of faith entrusted by divine revelation to the church from the beginning. (Reginald Weijenborg, *The Catholic Historical Review* [1972-73], pp. 579). On the other hand, several Protestant critics question whether Pelikan takes adequate account of the process of development and of the diversity, including the lack of an agreed upon body of doctrine, in the first centuries of the church (usually with references to Walter Bauer's *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum,* now translated, although Pelikan notes its importance in his bibliography; cf. Jack Forstman, *The Journal of Religion* [1975], p. 104–an excellent review article –and James S. Preus, *Theology Today* [1972], p. 226). He also defines doctrine as the "saving knowledge" of God, "derived from the word of God" (p. 2), and distinguishes it from Christian thought or the teachings of individual theologians. It is what the church *believed* "in the modalities of devotion, spirituality, and worship," *taught* "through proclamation, instruction, and churchly theology," and *confessed* or "articulated in polemics and in apologetics, in creed and in dogma" (p. 4). Doctrine is based throughout on the Bible, is derived from it, but the history of doctrine is not the history of biblical interpretation. Moreover, this history does not deal with the doctrinal content of the New Testament as the "constitutive and normative period" (a

concern to Weijenborg) but begins with the second century (a concern to Benko because Pelikan could have ably illuminated the first century when Jewish and Greco-Roman influences had formative impact on Christian doctrine).

To take up these last concerns first, Pelikan does recognize the New Testament as normative for Christian faith and its successive formulations (pp. 6-7), but he sees practical reasons, along with the fact that Old and New Testament studies are independent disciplines, for getting on with the story of the church's doctrine based on the Bible. His decision in this regard is not exceptional, but he also explicitly avoids examining the process by which the New Testament canon was determined (p. 114). By the same token, the conscious exclusion of the history of biblical interpretation leaves a significant gap in understanding how doctrine was justified or how it came to take the shape it did. This seems especially true with respect to Origen whose three senses of Scripture had a far-reaching impact. On the other hand, the emphasis on the various forms in which doctrine manifested itself is a great gain since the inclusion of liturgy and spirituality guards against the scholar's tendency to over-intellectualization.

One comes finally to the question, who is the church? For true doctrine—orthodoxy—depends on the believing, teaching and confessing church. I must agree with the reviewers who ask for a more rigorous treatment of this question from Pelikan. The story of this era is that of the church defining itself and its doctrine. There is enough diversity in the New Testament as well as in early Christianity to make this a fundamental problem. Certainly Pelikan is aware of the problem, but does his concern, altogether legitimate and valuable in itself, to narrate in continuous fashion the lines of development which were to become the received tradition, his concern to stress the unity of the faith which derives from the unity of the gospel, does it justify his procedure? I think another way of putting the issue, which relates it to Voegelin's work, is to speak of the impingement of the transcendent upon human experience. How can this ultimate reality be perceived in the empirical reality of Christianity? Pelikan's stance and all our historical stances on such questions are in the end confessional ones: "the variety of theologies and the unity of the gospel"; "an acceptance of genuine novelty and change in Christian history" and "an affirmation of true development and growth." At the same time, I recall the words of a great teacher of the Old Testament who was also a great man of faith, the late G. Ernest Wright, to the effect that we must learn to understand the *fallibility* of the Bible and of Christ as well as the infallibility, for this is the paradox of historical revelation.

I am sure that this debate may seem all too academic and irrelevant to the non-theologian, and Pelikan must be given his due for writing an excellent survey of what became Christian doctrine or the mainstream. However we might have defined the task, Pelikan is absolutely right in setting forth the de-

velopment of doctrine in the way he has after staking out his territory and explaining his assumptions. The impact of Jewish and classical thought on emerging doctrine forms a proper first chapter. The subtitle, "The Triumph of Theology," may be an overstatement of the outcome, for philosophy had a pervasive influence, but it is equally true that Christian doctrine "could not live by philosophy alone" (p. 55). The concluding paragraph of chapter 1 is well worth pondering, especially the unanswered questions.

Chapter 2, "Outside the Mainstream," obviously raises the heresy-orthodoxy issue again. It is only fair to hear Pelikan himself: "Nevertheless, this discovery that heresy may be a result of poor timing has come only as a consequence of modern historical research: the primitive church was not characterized by an explicit unity of doctrine; therefore heresy could sometimes claim greater antiquity than orthodoxy. But what did characterize primitive Christianity was a unity of life, of fidelity to the Old Testament, of devotion, and of loyalty to its Lord, as he was witnessed to in the Old and New Testament. Heresy was a deviation from that unity" (p. 70). Perhaps the really important question which this affirmation raises is the practical, churchly one (which may seem inappropriate in a scholarly review) of whether Christianity can recapture that sort of unity without explicit unity of doctrine (or of organization). No special attention is given to the moral and legal aspects of heresy, and the extra-Christian origins and post-Christian developments of heresy are explicitly excluded from discussion. Maricion is ably summarized, but Gnosticism has become so varied and vast a field of study that no overview is likely to satisfy everyone. Pelikan acknowledges that the Gnostics were dealing with fundamental issues; indeed they often took them up ahead of the more orthodox writers. This chapter also examines Montanism and the definition of apostolic authority or continuity.

In chapter 3, "The Faith of the Church Catholic," Pelikan reminds us that "we are trying here to listen to the chorus more than to the soloists" and trying to determine who belongs to the chorus in a historical way which does not depend on later centuries' determination of what is orthodox in doctrine (p. 122). Apocalypticism is the first major section, and it is a major topic in contemporary theological discussions. Voegelin in his work also finds it to be an important category expressing the tension of the transcendent in human existence. Although, according to Pelikan, "neither the apocalyptic imagery nor the more ontological language of the christological dogma avoided or solved the problem of the relation between the immanent and the transcendent," there is a "decisive shift from the categories of cosmic drama to those of being, from the Revelation of St. John the Divine to the creed of the Council of Nicea" (p. 131). The church's belief in a supernatural order is the topic of a very useful section which considers angels, demons and prayer. The various understandings of the meaning of salvation are clearly expounded, especially the Christus Victor view. A discussion of the church and sacraments

concludes this chapter.

The two major doctrinal issues of the fourth and fifth centuries form the content of the next two chapters. Both involve the central question of Christian faith, Who is Jesus? The doctrine of the Trinity declares that he is God, and the definition of Chalcedon declares that he is the God-Man. "The climax of the doctrinal development of the early church was the dogma of the Trinity. In this dogma the church vindicated the monotheism that had been at issue in its conflicts with Judaism, and it came to terms with the concept of the Logos, over which it had disputed with paganism" (p. 172). It becomes quite clear in these pages that the church believed, e.g., in the liturgy, that Christ was divine long before it enunciated his divinity in terms of the *homousios* language of Nicea. The church so believed because its savior had to be the creator of the universe (p. 203). Soteriology is fundamental for Athanasius and Amphilochius, Hilary and Ambrose, i.e., for East and West. It involved the Holy Spirit and thus the whole Trinity at the point of baptism. In one sense the dogma of the Trinity was the culmination of the development of doctrine, and in another sense, the starting point.

For the fifth century, of course, the focus falls on christology, the doctrine of the person of Christ. Pelikan is especially strong on the connection between the person and the work of Christ. Any contradiction here is inadmissable. Thus the schools of Alexandria and Antioch share certain assumptions in soteriology and christology despite decisive differences. Among the latter was the reading of the Old and New Testaments. Pelikan distinguishes three theologies of Christ: that of the hypostatic union identified with Alexandria, that of the indwelling Logos associated with Antioch, and that of pre-existence, kenosis and exaltation set forth in the Latin West and in the decree of Chalcedon. But what was Chalcedon? "an agreement to disagree," an attempt "to transcend the speculative alternatives by going beyond (or beneath) them to the truth of the Gospels—pure, clear, and simple. But the truth, even the truth of the Gospels, is never pure and clear, and rarely simple" (p. 266). Particularly in the East the ambiguity of the definition led to controversy and as yet unreconciled divisions. I think I would have put more emphasis on the inadequacy of language to capture a divine mystery, the intersection of immanent and transcendent.

Chapter 6, "Nature and Grace," brings the reader to the West, reviews the Christian understanding of man, and explores Saint Augustine, the only theologian to receive extensive individual attention in this volume. As others before Pelikan have observed, he is the one church father who is unquestionably still an intellectual force in his own right. For Augustine grace is central, it is *the* manifestation of the sovereign God, but it is also a mystery, a paradox. "Augustine managed to hold together what Augustinians have often tended to separate. In his piety and preaching, if not always in his theology, the paradox of grace as sovereign, as necessary, and as mediated transcended the alter-

natives inherent in it" (p. 306). The Pelagian controversy illuminated the paradox or the problem of grace and free will, and we learn of the subsequent shaping of the Augustinism of the Latin West which does not quite encompass all of Augustine himself.

The forking of the road to the East and to the West and correspondingly to volume 2 and volume 3 of Pelikan's work is indicated in the final chapter which carries the title—another paradox?—"The Orthodox Consensus." This consensus rests in the church universal, which despite many tensions and differences is not yet divided, in its councils, in its Bible and in its tradition of accepted teachers. The original problematic of the mainstream appears again. Preus in his review raises it in terms of the "everywhere, always, and by everyone" of Vincent of Lérins, which is not an explanation but an assertion, and he asks, "Did the church confess certain doctrines because they were orthodox? Or are some doctrines orthodox because the church confessed them?" (p. 229). Pelikan seems to prefer the former view, for he proposes, "To understand what had been believed by all, it was necessary to consult the silent in the land and to read off the doctrine which they believed even at a time when the church had not yet begun to teach it in theology or to confess it in creed" (p. 339). He is thus faithful to his tripartite definition of doctrine and consistent in his emphasis on Christian devotion and worship as an expression of doctrine.

Voegelin's study, *Order and History*, is on an even grander scale, for he is looking at the meaning of all of human existence, the entire historical process. *The Ecumenic Age* is especially critical in the series because in it he dramatically revises his original plan out of a recognition that the lines of meaning in history do not unfold along a simple time line. Also his structure of five types of order and symoblization turned out to be too limited and the historical data too vast to remain with the original sequence of six volumes. This fourth volume is an excellent, perhaps the best, place to begin since it includes a recapitulation of the entire enterprise and presents the conception of history with which the project will be concluded. But all the foregoing is too matter of fact. The conception which has emerged in Voegelin's analysis of ancient and modern societies and their historiographies is brilliant, original and inspired. It is profoundly theological in a way that embraces not only the biblical revelation but also classical philosophy (especially Anaximander, Plato and Aristotle) and the Orient.

The preceding volumes, which are by no means invalidated by the new conception of this one, take us back to the foundations of the western intellectual tradition: *Israel and Revelation; The World of the Polis; Plato and Aristotle.* The locus of each is evident from the title. *The Ecumenic Age,* which in some circles might call to mind the twentieth century, "roughly extends from the rise of the Persian to the fall of the Roman Empire." This division of history is acknowledged as unconventional, and its creation is justi-

fied. "For an epoch in the history of order was marked indeed when the societies which differentiated the truth of existence through revelation and philosophy succumbed, to new societies of the imperial type" (p. 114). It is these new societies which have come to have a new sense of order or of place in history, the sense of the *ecumene.* Originally, the term referred simply to the inhabited world as known by the Greeks, but for the new empires of Persia, Macedon and Rome it was "a power field into which the peoples were drawn through pragmatic events" (p. 132). The ecumene is not a self-organizing or concrete society as such, but there is a genuine sense of the known world from the Atlantic to the Indus as the theater of history. The ecumenic age ends with the dissociation of this world into the Byzantine, Islamic and Western civilizations.

Parallel to the pragmatic ecumene of the political empires is the spiritual, for this is also the age in which the great religions, especially Chrsitianity, appear. Representative figures are Paul, Mani and Mohammed. These religions express the universality of spiritual order and meaning, but there arises a problem, namely:

> . . . the tension between the universality of spiritual order and the ecumene, which embraces the contemporaneously living. That is a problem, both theoretical and practical, of the first magnitude indeed. It is a theoretical problem for every philosophy of history, since the universal order of mankind can become historically concrete only through symbolic representation by a community of the spirit with ecumenic intentions—that is the problem of the Church. And it is a practical problem in politics and histroy, since the attempt at representing universal order through a community with ecumenic intentions is obviously fraught with complications through the possibility that several such communities will be founded historically and pursue their ecumenic ambitions with means not altogether spiritual (p. 137).

Earlier Voégelin noted that in both Israel and Greece there was a growing awareness of "a spectrum of order which required membership in a plurality of societies as its adequate form" (p. 116). Out of this came the division between the temporal and spiritual. The concrete societies, Israel and Hellas, were not suitable vessels for the universality of the spirit, but the new empires were "not organized societies at all, but organizational shells . . . devoid of substance" (p. 117).

Another sentence gives us a sense of the peculiar tendency of this era. "The builders of empires and the founders of religions in the age that we have called the Ecumenic Age were indeed concerned with the society of all mankind that had become visible beyond the confines of the former concrete societies; they were concerned with the order of a human mass that had been drawn into the vortex of pragmatic events; and in the symbolism of an ecu-

menic order in the making they both met" (pp. 141-42). Both empire and church had the goal of embracing all mankind, and this awareness as experienced and symbolized in human consciousness is the reality of order in history. It is this dynamic process of consciousness striving to make sense out of the world which is the heart of Voegelin's enterprise. It forms the dialectic of history: concrete experiences in a cultural context, questions about the meaning of the experience, and answers. Because "it is the consciousness of a concrete man, living in a concrete society, and moving within its historically concrete modes of experience and symbolization," none of the answers is "the ultimate truth" (p. 75). The process goes on and is the meaning of human existence. To have helped us understand this reality is Voegelin's great contribution.

History and its meaning are open toward the future, ever emerging, and they are open toward an eschatological fulfillment which can only be understood in terms of a divine reality. "I had to conclude: The process of history . . . is a mystery in process of revelation" (p. 6). The divine reality is particularly experienced in the modes of the Beyond in the immediate psychological dimension and of the Beginning in the observation of the structure of things. Voegelin traces his conception out in the historiographies of Egypt, Sumer and Israel, in the Greek historians and philosophers, and in Burckhardt—not to mention numerous other writers—and he enlivens his discussion with warnings against Gnosticism for losing the historical balance and against Hegel for his assumption of finality. I cannot possibly reproduce all the analysis here, but I would emphasize the centrality of the tension between the transcendent or divine reality and the concrete experience of human existence. Mankind lives and moves and has its being (there is an entire chapter on the Pauline vision of the resurrected) in "the In-Between stratum of reality, the Metaxy." In this circumstance all it can do is question. "There is no answer to the Question other than the Mystery as it becomes luminous in the acts of questioning" (p. 330).

Voegelin believes that we still face today "the problems set by the differentiations of consciousness in the Ecumenic Age. . . . The Question remains the same, but the modes of asking the Question change" (p. 331). The asking and the answering, the growing self-awareness, both constitute and generate history. Yet there is a more, a Whole, which is also in process and of which human existence in history is only a part. At this point the author comes close to the so-called process theologians and philosophers, to aspects of Whitehead, Hartshorne, Teilhard de Chardin, and John Cobb. In this and other respects Voegelin is profoundly theological and deserves to be read by philosophers, theologians and historians. To take up this volume is like entering a graduate seminar with the great students of the meaning of existence; to complete it is to gain a fresh perspective on humanity itself.

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BYZANTINE STUDIES/ETUDES BYZANTINES, 4, Part 1 (1977), 89-104.

BOOK REVIEWS/COMPTES RENDUS

Hélène Ahrweiler. *Byzance: les pays et les territories.* London: Variorum Reprints, 1976. vii, 338 pp. 1 map. £13.50.

The author's interest in the field of historical geography is the theme which dominates this collection of reprints. Though it is not her earliest article on this topic, "Les problèmes de la géographie historique byzantine," Professor Ahrweiler's contribution to the Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies at Oxford in 1967, served to define both the subject and many of the problems related to the study of historical geography. As she points out in this article, Byzantine historical geography, which is substantially different from that of the Roman and Proto-Byzantine periods, begins in the seventh century with the inception of the *theme* system. This periodization complements the conclusion presented in Professor Ahrweiler's *L'idéologie politique de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1975), that there occurred a substantial shift in the political ideology of the empire in the mid-seventh century, i.e., from universalism to nationalism. The interrelationship of administrative change and ideological reorientation provides a useful foundation for the study of the history of the empire and of the subject of historical geography.

Because of the difficulties posed by Byzantine historical geography and particularly by any attempt to encompass the whole empire, due especially to the fragmented nature of our sources as well as to their Constantinopolitan focus, Professor Ahrweiler sees the most fruitful approach to be regional studies, such as Lemerle's on Philippi and eastern Macedonia, Bon's on the Peloponnesus to 1204, and Zakythinos' on the Morea. She should have cited as well her own monograph, "L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317) particulièrement au XIIIe siècle" (*Travaux et Mémoires* [1965]), not only because of its separate merits but particularly because it serves as an excellent example of regional historical geography. Fortunately, this long article is included in the present collection. In it, after discussing the sources for and the problems related to the historical geography of Byzantine Asia Minor, especially gaps in regional information, the author describes and delineates the geography of the region, the ethnic character of its population, and its demographic evolution in the thirteenth century. All of this is by way of introduction, while the bulk of the monograph-length article is divided into three parts: a study of the history and institutions of the towns and countryside of the Smyrna region, a description of its ecclesiastical administration, and a study of the civil and military administration. In this main part of the article the author utilizes the wealth of prosopographical information which she had collected. The domination of this material raises the only serious objection one might have to this study, that is, the lesser attention given to social and economic organization. True, this aspect was not ignored and possibly the sources would not lend themselves to any further discussion, yet it seems that a fuller analysis of the society and economy of Smyrna in the thirteenth century would have been most revealing, particularly in the light of Professor Ahrweiler's close familiarity with the sources and the region. The importance of this substantial article is indicated by the fact that it served as one of the foundations for Angold's study of Nicaean society (*Byzantine Government in Exile* [Oxford, 1975]).

Following a seminal article on Byzantine frontiers in Anatolia and several more general pieces is the final article in the collection, entitled "Les relations entre les Byzantins et les Russes au IXe siècle," which appeared in the *Bulletin d'Information et de Coordination de l'Association Internationale des Etudes Byzantines* (Athens-Paris, 1971). This is

in many ways the most intriguing article of the seven, as Professor Ahrweiler has plunged into the question of the *Rus'* which often resembles a morass or a battlefield more than the subject of intellectual inquiry. Through a deft utilization of the limited sources, Professor Ahrweiler has sought to locate the base of the *Rus'* who raided Constantinople in 860. She concludes that the *Rus'* launched their expedition from the Crimean coast of the Sea of Azov, the so-called Tauric Propontide. In this article, the author reopens once again the question of the possibility of *Rus'* activities in the Black Sea region before 860, over which there was considerable controversy in the late 1930s due largely to the refusal of Professor Henri Gregoire to accept the possibility (see particularly the article of Germaine de Costa-Louillet [*Byzantion,* 1940-41], which gives the final statement of the Gregoire school). Whether or not one agrees with Professor Ahrweiler's analysis (I am inclined to be convinced), one must admire not only the boldness but also the internal logic of her solution. In her analysis, Professor Ahrweiler skillfully weaves together the various pieces of evidence on the *Rus'* and the Byzantines in the ninth century while at the same time taking into account the problems which this evidence presents. On the crucial question of the dating of posthumous events in the lives of George of Amastris and Stephen of Sougdaia, the author places the two fragments, which refer to the *Rus'*, in the period before 860. Because of the fragmentary nature of the sources, and the elusive vagueness of some of them, it seems unlikely that the final word will ever be stated on the subject. However, by locating the base for the *Rus'* raid of 860 on the northeastern coast of the Crimea, Professor Ahrweiler seems to have overcome some of the contradictions attending the traditional Kievan location without inducing substantial additional problems.

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Hélène Ahrweiler. *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin.* Collection SUP, 20. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1975. 158 pp. 1 map.

This book is so stimulating that it is simultaneously exasperating: it is good enough to deserve being longer and more fully realized. It is really two publications in one. The major portion, containing seven numbered chapters, is an attempt to sketch the evolution of the political viewpoints and motivations of Byzantine society and its leaders through the course of the empire's history. Appended to it is an eighteen-page "chapitre unique," an essay on the Byzantine concepts of "order" (*τάχις*) and "dispensation" (*οἰκονομία*) and the problems of understanding their interaction in Byzantine political thought.

To convey justly the sweep and penetration of the historical survey would require a systematic summation of the patterns of evolution that Ahrweiler traces. This would be impossible in any brief compass, so richly-textured is her tightly compressed exposition. Working with the familiar facts of Byzantine history, the author presents many predictable conclusions, but also many more unexpected emphases and flashes of fresh insight. She is very effective in tracing the always central place of Christianity and the Church in Byzantine consciousness: the focus it repeatedly gave the empire's citizens through a sense of loyalty to it and of identity within it. The regular redefinition of Orthodoxy provided the base, in turn, for a defensive policy of survival, for an outlook of expansionism and overconfident superiority, and eventually for an attitude of hatred and hostility toward the Latin world. The anti-Latin sentiment assumed precedence over fear of the infidel and bred a fatalism that prepared the way for the *Τουρκοκρατία*. Another fascinating theme is the emergence of Constantinople as a symbol in itself of all that the empire and Byzantine civilization meant. Having assumed this status in the Comnenian

period, the capital became a target of the disillusionment and hatred of disaffected provincials in the later twelfth century; but it became again a potent positive symbol in the aftermath of 1204, and it passed thereafter into the context of the Great Idea of post-Byzantine Hellenism.

In the compressed context of Ahrweiler's survery, some generalizations are not sufficiently clarified to escape skepticism, notably her applications of the tags "nationalism" and "patriotism." We find these at the heart of her analyses of the parallel yet contrasting epochs of "national" rallying and "patriotic" revitalization under, respectively, the Isaurian and Comnenian emperors. So loaded are these terms with modern connotations that the author's use of them for distant Byzantine phenomena seems too casually anachronistic to stand without the clarification she does not have (or take) the space to provide. Indeed, she could well have made a point of showing how incompletely we know the viewpoints of the diverse regional, ethnic, and social elements of the empire with regard to their sense of place within it.

Her sketch is also somewhat disproportionate. The greatest number of pages is devoted to a brilliantly perceptive dissection of attitudes and trends during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, which seems to me the most effective part. With prior periods, the earlier they are, the smaller–and less satisfactory–is the attention they receive. I am not so sure, for example, that the two principles she discerns as motivating policies between the fifth and the seventh centuries (a "realist" concentration on preserving the eastern segment of the empire above all else, against an "idealist" dream of restored or "universalist" empire) were really so diametrically "opposed" as she insists. In some forms, they could well have been differing manifestations of the same preoccupation with imperial continuity. Further, however stimulating is her picture of the Isaurian epoch as a dramatic phase of creative innovation in the face of the Arab challenge ("... le nationalisme byzantin fut justement la riposte byzantine à la guerre sainte de l'Islam": p. 35), it is noteworthy that her treatment of the Heraclian Dynasty is skimpy and backhanded. She seems here to diverge from the historiographic drift of recent decades, in which the seventh century, rather than the eighth, has been viewed as the pivotal period of transformation and innovation. One wishes, again, that the author had lingered at greater length in these realms, to resolve questions she raises.

That one can find so much to comment upon and ponder–far beyond what can be mentioned in this limited space–is testimony to the provocative and often exciting qualities of Ahrweiler's little book. Seemingly intended for a broad readership, it should nevertheless be of equal (if not greater) interest to the specialist, simply as food for thought, imaginatively served by a superlative chef. The "chapitre unique" alone is worth the price of the meal. It opens new possiblities in the familiar debate over "caesaropapism" and church-state relations, pointing up how far we still have to go to achieve understanding of Byzantine patterns of thought. If this book irritates or frustrates as much as it satisfies, that is the best measure of it as one of the most thought-provoking essays on the totality of Byzantine civilization to appear in a long time; it also testifies to the breadth of Ahrweiler's scholarship and to the pungent savor of her style.

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Alice-Mary Maffry Talbot. *The Correspondence of Athanasius I Patriarch of Constantinople. Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family, and Officials. An Edition, Translation, and Commentary.* Dumbarton Oaks Texts, III. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1975. 467 pp., $35.00.

Professor Talbot has produced a truly first-rate edition of the correspondence of Patriarch Athanasius I of Constantinople. In addition to 115 letters, presented in their original Greek with excellent English translations, the author offers us two introductions: a general one, covering the life of the patriarch, his educational background, and his literary style, and a critical one in which she expertly reviews the manuscript tradition and the principal studies on Athanasius's correspondence previous to her own. The letters are followed by 145 pages of valuable commentary, with indices of proper names, terms, vocabulary, and incipits. This is a truly scholarly work in the best tradition.

Athanasius I was appointed patriarch twice (1289-93 and 1303-09) by Emperor Andronicus II (1282-1328), in whose reign the fortunes of the Byzantine Empire began to decline rather decisively. Confronted by increasing external dangers represented by the Ottoman Turks and the Catalans, to cite only two of the empire's enemies, and torn apart internally by social, political, and ecclesiastical factions, the state was in need of extraordinary leadership if it were to be saved. Unfortunately the situation proved too much for emperor and patriarch alike.

It is an interesting indication of the corruption of Byzantine society that Athanasius, though himself a monk, clergyman, and hierarch, was unable to bring order and reform to these three important elements of Byzantine society which, by virtue of their vocation and office, were pledged to a selfless life of service, justice, and sacrifice. From the correspondence we see a situation in which bishops refused to serve in the dioceses for which they were ordained, while clergymen went on strike over salaries, and monks not only refused to follow their monastic rule, but vehemently opposed the use of monastic revenues to alleviate hunger and misery among their fellow Christians.

This reviewer was extremely happy to encounter a Byzantine ecclesiastical figure who was preoccupied neither with the doctrinal differences between Rome and Constantinople nor with the wisdom of the "ancients," and who, despite his strong monastic character, was completely involved with the society in which he lived. We are shown a tenacious and fearless patriarch who was quick to remind the emperor of his duty as one "anointed" and "appointed" by the Lord to teach by "word and deed to appease God with piety and justice and truth." He did not spare the emperor, even though he was at times Athanasius's only supporter except for the relatively powerless common people. Indeed, any and everyone involved in corruption, injustice, lawlessness, and impiety was called to task. And on the positive side, Athanasius selflessly championed the common folk and personally did what he could to eliminate injustice, poverty, and misery among them.

On a few minor points I would venture to disagree with Professor Talbot. For a monk, Athanasius's knowledge of the Bible, John Chrysostom, the Cappadocian Fathers and other sources cited by her, as well as saints' lives and church and civil law, is quite good. All patriarchs could not be the equals of Photius. Nor would I agree that many of Athanasius's patristic quotations were learned by listening to them read on feast days. Anyone familiar with this monastic tradition would find this extraordinary. More likely the use of such quotes by him is a consequence of his study.

A deposed patriarch is never reduced to the rank of layman. This would be a double punishment (loss of office and of priesthood) not permitted by canon law. Therefore, the view that Athanasius could not lift the anathema of the emperor unless he were reinstated as patriarch cannot stand. Moreover, anathema is not dependent upon the holding of any specific office.

In closing I should like to congratulate Professor Talbot on a truly exemplary study, and to thank her for bringing to life a very engaging Byzantine patriarch.

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Donald M. Nicol. *Metoeora: The Rock Monasteries of Thessaly*. Rev. ed. London: Variorum Reprints, 1975. xiv, 210 pp. 19 black-and-white illustrations, map. £12.00.

When this study was originally published in 1963, it was intended to serve as an introduction to the rock monasteries of late medieval Thessaly for a general audience as well as for Byzantinists. Fourteen years later, Variorum has published a "revised" edition. Welcome as is the reappearance of a book which has often been difficult to obtain, it is unfortunate that the format of the reprinting has allowed for only the most minor changes. Professor Nicol has made additions to the bibliography and minor textual changes, and he has written a new preface. For the most part, the additions describe the changes that have taken place in the Meteora since 1963, and reflect the author's sadness at seeing the monasteries become, definitively, tourist attractions rather than monastic centers. Monks have moved to Mt. Athos, and the few who remain are ticket takers and guides.

The author noted in his original preface that the state of the sources did not yet allow "the" book about Meteora to be written. The revised bibliography indicates that the sources for the history of the monasteries–catalogues of manuscripts, lives of the founders–are gradually appearing, but there is still no other major study of Meteora. A rereading of Nicol's work enforces one's awareness of the need for such a study. Nicol chose to treat the history of the monasteries individually, outlining chronology and tying spiritual development to political events where appropriate. For general readers he added introductory chapters on Byzantine monasticism and Thessaly in the late middle ages. But the work nowhere treats the institutional or economic history of the monasteries; estates and patrons are mentioned but never explored. An analysis of Meteoran spiritual life in relation to that of Mt. Athos and other centers would also have been helpful as a separate section. Finally, while the background chapters are devoted to monasticism and the political history of the late Byzantine period, the golden days of Meteora came afterward, in the sixteenth century under Turkish rule. Meteora's relationships with the Phanariots and other outside patrons need explaining to the general reader, and the phenomenon of a growing Byzantine monument in a post-Byzantine world seems worthy of further investigation. These complaints, perhaps, constitute a request for "the" book about Meteora; at the least, they represent a wish that publishers' conventions had allowed the incorporation of more recent research on late and post-Byzantine society (e.g., Nicol's own prosopographical studies, as well as those of Laiou, Fernanjić, Runciman, and others) into the present study. Nevertheless, this is a valuable reprint, and not only because it remains the only work on the subject. Professor Nicol's decision to continue his study down to the present day is an important reminder of the fact that the Byzantine heritage must be given more than lip service. In the history of Meteora he has presented a unique picture of a Byzantine institution which is dying only in our time.

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Maciej Salamon, *Rozwój idei Rzymu-Konstantynopola od IV do pierwszej połowy VI wieku [The Development of the Rome-Constantinople Idea from the IVth to the First Half of the VIth Century]*. Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach, NR 80. Katowice! Uniwersytet Śląski, 1975. 144 pp., 38 black-and-white plates. Cena zł 9,-.

A revision of his doctoral dissertation, completed at the University of Silesia in Katowice, Salamon's work, though a small book should merit the attention of Western

scholars, for it is both notable for its incisive understanding of a complex historical problem, one for which the sources are not wholly clear, and commendable for the breadth and depth of the author's research. Salamon has set out to define the basic concepts of "sovereign-capital" and "imperial residence-capital" as they pertain to Rome and Constantinople and span the reigns of Constantine and Justinian in the East. The author draws extensively upon the major original sources for the period; the opinions and interpretations of modern scholars as F. Dölger, P. J. Alexander, H. G. Beck, L. Bréhier, A. Alföldi, A. H. M. Jones, O. Seeck, and numerous others; and correlates this body of evidence with numismatic inscriptions to support the theory that Constantinople inherited the full powers of Rome and this theory became the cornerstone of Byzantine political and religious ideology.

Salamon's study is divided into six chapters, the titles of which are "The Residence Capital and the Sovereign Capital"; "The Constantinian Idea of Rome-Constantinople"; "The Capital of Constantine's Family"; "The Maintenance and Consolidation of the Capitals' Ranks in the Second Half of the IVth Century"; "From the Second Rome to the Roman Imperium"; and "The Idea of the 'Translatio Imperio' to Rome-Constantinople."

The author at once establishes that Rome, as the "eternal city," was not only the focal point of Roman tradition, but the city enjoyed certain prerogatives as the representative of state sovereignty. Assuming that the generalization is incontrovertible, although he might have furnished more documentation than to rely simply upon minor secondary sources, Salamon then traces the origins of Constantinople and attributes the establishment of this Eastern capital to the troubled period of wars and usurpation which extended from the third into the fourth centuries. In chapter II, Salamon rejects the conclusion of Dölger that the idea of creating a new sovereign capital should be ascribed to the second half of the fourth century. Salamon holds that the city had its foundation in 324 when Byzantium was rebuilt and renamed Constantinople, although he admits that intensive construction for this transformation did not begin until a few years later, ca. 326, and continued for the next seven or eight years. Further, he does accept the general scholarly consensus that the status of Constantinople as a political center was fixed in 330. He shows that numismatic evidence places Constantinople on par with Rome, and coinage of that year depicts the goddess Tyche, which Salamon believes establishes Constantinople as the "Rome" of the East Roman Empire and as a separate political entity. The city was then modeled after Rome, but Constantine did not detract from Rome's supremacy and its paramount position. The two capitals did not disrupt the unity of the Roman Empire, rather Constantine yielded in precedence to the older of the two cities. Having demonstrated these points by showing that Constantinople had inferior institutions, Salamon's work, though narrower in scope, appeared shortly after the publication of Gilbert Dagrons's *Naissance d'une capital. Constantinople et ses institutions de 300 à 451* (Paris, 1974), and the Polish scholar could not avail himself of Dagron's extensive study of the city's institutional history, consideration of which would have added significantly to Salamon's own conclusions. A careful comparison of the two works shows that their respective interpretations lead to almost identical conclusions, namely, the contention that Constantinople's institutions derive from Rome's, a point which many scholars challenge because of the inadequacy of the primary sources.

A study of the evolution of Constantinople's institutions leads Salamon to conclude that Constantius II altered the relationship of Constantinople vis-à-vis Rome by elevating the standing of his capital's institutions to the same level as Rome's; and this parity was fully achieved in the reign of Julian the Apostate, who incidently passed away in 363, not 364 (see p. 75). Unfortunately, Salamon's treatment of the parity question is too brief (pp. 75-87) to warrant such a conclusion, although the point may be well taken that with the death of Julian the Apostate, the last descendant of the Constantinian

family, the importance of the Rome-Constantinople idea was arrested. Salamon attributes this to the Procopian rebellion of 356-66. The consequence, he argues, was that Constantinople was deprived of some of its privileges as the political center of the East Roman Empire. The Trinitarians, as Salamon has established, also opposed the elevation of the city on par with Rome, mainly because such parity was sought by the Arians, their ideological antagonists. Salamon shows as well that support for Constantinople's elevation came from those intimate with the eastern imperial rulers and in particular from the pagan supporters of Julian. The source evidence along with the numismatic supports Salamon's conclusions.

In the two final chapters, with the rise to power of Valens, Salamon demonstrates that coinage thereafter shows the equality of Constantinople with Rome, and more so in the fifth century with the accelerated decline of Rome following Alaric's sack of the western capital. While after 410 Rome no longer challenged Constantinople's claim to equality, more significant from Salamon's view is the fact that the latter became a main Christian center, which enhanced its stature and negated what few claims Rome could make. And when Justinian took the city, Rome's status was reduced to that of another Byzantine city, ruled from the capital in the East.

Salamon's argumentation is well reasoned and the main contentions are substantially supported with documentation. His contribution to the scholarly literature on this subject should not be ignored, and if anything this work demonstrates that Polish scholars have a greater awareness of and demonstrate their utilization of West European and American source materials than is often the case amongst Western scholars who persist in being unfamiliar with East European research and publications. One would have wished, however, that Salamon had consulted Walter Kaegi's *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* (Princeton, 1968), whose significant research and interpretations would have been of value to the author. True, the language handicap continues to plague Western scholarship, but perhaps the tide of ignorance should now be reversed with the publication of this work.

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Kenneth M. Setton. *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388.* Revised edition, London: Variorum Reprints, 1975. xix, 323 pp. £14.50.

Kenneth M. Setton. *Athens in the Middle Ages.* London: Variorum Reprints, 1975. 279 pp. £14.50.

The traveller in modern Attica, Boeotia and southern Thessaly may notice certain puzzling architectural remains. With their fragmented walls and square glowering towers, these structures obviously are not modern, and neither look nor feel classical. They belong to 'medieval' Greece, and the most eye-catching examples—above Livadia and Lamia, or sprawled across the citadel of Siderokastron—are the physical relicts of less than a century of the occupation of this territory by the Companya Grande de Catalunya. The whys and wherefores of this occupation of what had once been a part of the Byzantine Empire occupied K. M. Setton in his *Catalan Domination of Athens,* first published in 1948. This work has now been reprinted, with additions and emendations, by Variorum Reprints, thus giving us the opportunity of reassessing Setton's work thirty years after the initial publication.

As he notes, Setton followed in the footsteps of Hopf, Gregorovius, Lampros, Miller and, especially, the Catalan scholar Rubió y Lluch, in turning his attention toward this disputed land, repeatedly divided and fought over after its initial seizure by the "crossbearers" who followed de la Roche. To the Franks the area became the Duchy of

Athens, and it was thereafter caught up in the complicated web of feudal obligation, cession and inheritance, of rival suzerainties and fees. This tangle worsened in 1311, when a force of Catalan mercenaries annihilated the army of the Duke of Athens, Gautier de Brienne, killed de Brienne himself, and so became masters of the Duchy.

This small—one is tempted to say insignificant—part of the feudalized and Frankified Greek land was thus occupied by a small force of freebooting mercenaries from a small section of northern Spain, Catalan subjects (with special provisos) of the House of Aragon. As rulers over a submerged Greek population, the Catalans set up a system in which feudal modes were joined to the organizing principles of a "universitat"—a "corporation" which insisted on the importance of the Customs of Barcelona. Their Vicars-General governed in the name of the Sicilian-Aragonese throne until 1379, when this line died out and the House of Aragon took up direct suzerainty. These Vicars-General had their work cut out for them.

The Catalans maintained themselves in the face of powerful enemies, eventually succumbing to a combining of their enemies and ferocious internal dissension. The 'Burgundian' house of de Brienne of course had objected to being displaced, and it was supported by other feudatories and by the Avignonese Papacy, so that the Catalans were excommunicate for much of their tenure here, and ecclesiastical relationships were delicate. The Venetians, who held a powerful base on Negroponte (Euboea), had to be dealt with by force or diplomatic maneuver. Finally the key and capital of the Catalan domain, Thebes, was taken by yet another Spanish mercenary force—the Navarrese—and in 1388 the last Catalan stronghold, the Acropolis of Athens, was captured by an ambitious and successful Florentine adventurer, Nerio di Acciajuoli. From the Florentines this last segment of Frankish territory passed to Venice, and from the Republic—in 1456—to the Turk.

It may be asked whether three-quarters of a violent century of Catalan domination has any historical interest or impact at all, especially since it is clear that the Catalans ruled over a vestigial population, in an area so economically non-viable as to be almost worthless. Part of the answer is to be found in Setton's enthusiastic reaction to the industry, and the filiopietism, of Rubió y Lluch. The very extensive documentation from the Aragonese archives, brought to the light of scholarship by Rubió, is here criticized and put into context. If some of the Catalan's romantic nationalism has rubbed off on Setton, the results are not offensive. Another part of the answer has to do with the perennial fascination of Athens *in oculis aeternitatis,* as the accepted birthplace of Western culture and thought, important no matter to what depths its population had sunk, or which feudal bully-boys peered out over the ruins of the Agora from the fortified and renamed Acropolis.

Considered in this light, Setton's task needs no explanation and is even commendable. A tremendous amount of archival material is reduced to order, and a mass of loyalties, ambitions, triumphs and defeats is made reasonably clear and coherent. There are imperfections. Laurent, in his review of the first edition in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* (8-9 [1950-51], 264-65), particularly cited the lack of any significant attention to Catalan relations with the Byzantine Empire or with the Anatolian Turks, and also criticized the disproportionate emphasis on the Catalan occupation contrasted with the forty pages that take the Duchy, under Florence and Venice, to the Turkish conquest. These gaps and disproportions remain, for the fact that the great weight of documentation is Aragonese-Catalan must inevitably skew the results of any study.

There are also insufficient or partial reconstructions (as in the description of "language and culture") based on information so fragmentary and incomplete as to make a fully-textured reconstruction impossible. The lack of information, in fact, occasionally leads Setton to compose in the mode of historical fiction: on page 77 and following we are given an event which can only be introduced by "conceivably," "we may imagine"

and has a cast of characters who "may have come." Here, and elsewhere, Setton is so swayed by the temptation of possibilities–projected against insufficient data–that his sense of historical judgement is overcome.

Athens in the Middle Ages is a collction of six articles dealing, in a roughly chronological *cum* topical fashion, with various aspects of the history of this once significant city from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. Of these articles the first, "The Archaeology of Medieval Athens," is a lucid and graceful overview, rich with specific observations, of the activities and conclusions of the hordes of archaeologists who have "dug" this site–usually without having the medieval context in view. "On the Raids of the Moslems" treats briefly of the puzzle of an alleged Arab presence in Athens–in the tenth century?–leaving us pretty much in a continued quandary as to what form this presence might have taken.

"Athens in the Later Twelfth Century" deals mainly with the life and local times of its archbishop (from 1182 to 1204 approximately), the brilliant and learned Byzantine mandarin Michael Choniates. What emerges from this study, in addition to some fascinating antiquarian footnotes, is the pathos of the archbishop's confrontation with the contrast between what had been and what now was, and the perception that the tooth of time had torn away even the faint memory of old glories.

The remaining papers: "The Catalans in Greece," "Catalan Society in Greece" and "The Catalans and Florentines in Greece," all deal, with updated information and insights, with the focal area of Setton's long monograph on the Catalan Grand Company. The meticulous research adds valuable interpretative and factual dimensions to the various problems outlined in the *Catalan Domination.* The reader's difficulty with these studies is likely to be with form rather than content. Read in sequence, the Catalan articles–reproduced by a photo-offset process from the original journal pages–can produce a kind of echo-chamber effect, for not only is information repeated, but phrases and word sequences may be repeated as well. The final effect unfortunately, is one of structural artificiality: of papers put together for convenience rather than connected securely by either synchronic or diachronic ligatures.

Without doubt Setton's work shows a skillful, broad-ranging, humanistic, and thoroughly convincing scholarship. Both the monograph and the collection of articles reveal the best kind of elucidative prose, mature and graceful and without affectation. More importantly, Setton deals with that aspect of the ruptured empire most Byzantinists (to say nothing of less specialized medievalists) are poorly prepared to encounter: the complicated mix of Frankish-feudal and other forms after the Fourth Crusade, with its tangle of social, political, and cultural manifestations. It is a pleasure to follow the course of Setton's investigations, and his work will remain important for anyone who tries to make sense out of the pre-Ottoman history of medieval Greece.

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Kurt Weitzmann, William C. Loerke, Ernst Kitzinger, Hugo Buchthal. *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art.* Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University (distributed by Princeton University Press), 1975. viii, 184 pp., 148 black-and-white illustrations. $28.50.

This book contains four important papers delivered at a symposium held in Princeton in April, 1973, in connection with an exhibition of Greek illuminated manuscripts that was presented as a tribute to Professor Kurt Weitzmann. His own paper, "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination, Past, Present, and Future" (pp. 1-60), sets the theme of the symposium. To show the relation of the various areas of manuscript studies to one

another and the possibilities for expansion, Weitzmann chooses the image of seven circles. Publications of manuscripts belong to the first circle, the "documentary" evidence. The reconstruction of fragmentary manuscripts, the relations of illumniations to other media, and the discovery of originals through the study of copies constitute a group of circles presenting the "archaeological" evidence. Work done so far has been centered on these "inner circles." An enormous amount of work is still to be done within them, before we can proceed towards a better and fuller understanding of larger issues. Weitzmann, with unique insight, points the way from matters of pure method to the problems of the relation of Byzantine illumination to the art of other periods and cultures. His life work, monumental as it is, has been distilled in these pages in such a way that every sentence, replete with meaning, opens new avenues of thought.

William Loerke discusses "The Monumental Miniature" (pp. 61-98). In a fascinating essay that reads like a detective story, he provides good guidance for identifying illuminations as copies of monumental originals. He deals principally with the "Communion of the Apostles" miniatures in the Rossano Gospels, which form a chapter in the archaeology of Palestine, and argues convincingly for a monumental prototype of these miniatures in a mid-sixth-century basilica in Jerusalem. Loerke is not simply in search of a lost "model." He stresses the role played by Constantinople in the dissemination of imagery and the impact of the liturgy on art.

The converse problem, "The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration," is dealt with by Ernst Kitzinger (pp. 99-142). After a splendid review of the problem of the relation of the Cotton Genesis manuscript to the S. Marco vestibule mosaics, Kitzinger proposes a set of working drawings as an intermediary between mosaics and the illustrated book, and proceeds to a discussion of the so-called pictorial guides which provide a link between the work of illuminators and that of moeicists or fresco painters. There must have been pictorial guides prepared *ad hoc* for the execution of particular decorations, but there were also generic guides comparable to the Russian *podlinnik.* The transmission of pictures from book to wall and vice versa raises the question of the influence upon monumental painting of styles that are characteristic of miniatures. The key monument to this part of the discussion is the series of mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, the various problems of which have been extensively studied in a recent monograph (Beat Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* [Wiesbaden, 1975]). Kitzinger's essay is provocative, and he is aware of other possibilities. For instance, different interpretation can be given to some of the literary sources he adduces. All the same, Kitzinger makes us aware of the working methods of Byzantine artists and stresses the interrelationship of the media in matters of iconography and style.

The final essay by Hugo Buchthal, "Towards a History of Palaeologan Illumination" (pp. 143-77), paves the way for a future writing of such a history. The manuscripts discussed, principally written and illuminated in Constantinople, are presented in groups centered around dated codices, and Buchthal draws attention to iconographic innovations and stylistic changes apparent in these manuscripts. Iconographic changes include the evangelist who sharpens his pen and subjects taken from the liturgy, like the *Anapeson.* Buchthal also points to the importance of headpieces both for matters of style and for assigning the manuscripts to *scriptoria.* Some of these headpieces, together with portraits of the evangelists, must be counted among the most beautiful products of Constantinopolitan art. Thanks to Buchthal the image of the *scriptorium* of the monastery of Hodegon becomes sharper. Because the material of this period remains for the most part unpublished, this essay is truly seminal.

In 1947 Kurt Weitzmann, as a young scholar with impressive achievements, outlined the history of Byzantine art and Byzantine studies in America, and the activities and projects of then flourishing institutes ("Byzantine Art and Scholarship in America," *Ameri-*

can Journal of Archaeology, 51 [1947], 394-418). In this volume, almost forty years later, he and his eminent colleagues tell us what has been accomplished and direct us to future research. The reviewer has not done justice to this beautifully printed and illustrated book, which contains the essence of all problems related to Byzantine miniature painting and which is indispensable for students of Byzantine art. Weitzmann tells us that the time has not yet come for the writing of a history of Byzantine illumination. This reviewer is convinced that when the time comes, and a new Kondakoff appears to undertake the task, he will have to return to the first essay in this book written by "the scholar who has done more than anyone else in our time to advance our knowledge and understanding of the history of book illumination" (p. 99).

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Ioannis E. Karayiannopoulos. *'Η Βυζαντινὴ 'Ιστορία ἀπὸ τὰς Πηγάς*· Thessaloniki: Center for Byzantine Studies, 1974. 298 pp. $10.00.

As the title indicates, this is a selection of excerpts and passages from Greek sources bearing on every major aspect of Byzantine history and civilization. Most of the readings are drawn from the sources of the first seven centuries and represent narrative histories, chronicles, legislation, imperial chrysobulls, military manuals, lives of saints, church history, theological treatises, manuals of political theory, and more. It can serve two purposes: it can be used as a textbook for graduate students and seminars in Byzantine history, especially in colleges and universities whose libraries do not have Greek collections, and it can serve as an easily accessible reference book for teachers of Byzantine and Western medieval history when they wish to illustrate a point by a quick reference to a Byzantine text. It is with pleasure that I highly recommend it to both students and instructors with a knowledge of Greek, and to any layman interested in medieval Greek studies. The selection of texts has been carefully, discriminately, and methodically done.

The book falls into four parts, subdivided into twenty-three chapters. Part one is devoted to Byzantine imperial theory and includes readings on the origins and the nature of imperial authority, the coronation and the functions of the emperor, his relations with the officers of the administrative machinery, the co-emperor and his responsibilities. The second and the third parts include readings bearing on the state and its organization. There are important excerpts illuminating every function of the administrative organization, such as the senate, the ministers, the provincial governors, the themes, the army, taxation, diplomacy, church and state relations, and the administration of justice. The fourth part deals with the economic and social life of the empire and includes excerpts illustrative of the daily and private life of the imperial court, and of the customs and traditions of the various social classes. Poverty and wealth, estates and slavery, entertainment, social unrest and revolts, education, and relations between social classes emerge as lively issues in Byzantine society.

Each chapter opens with a brief but comprehensive introduction by Professor Karayiannopoulos on the theme to be illustrated by the sources. The chapter on cities and urban populations includes wisely selected readings bearing on the social background and the functions of senators, ministers, city fathers, physicians, and teachers; on salaries and guilds, commerce and trade, currency, and conflicts among local and foreign merchants and traders. The last chapter is devoted to rural populations and to agriculture. The book closes with a list of the sources it includes, and a select bibliography. The editor deserves our thanks for providing students and teachers alike with a very useful volume.

The book was originally devised to serve the needs of Professor Karayiannopoulos'

students and as such it was not meant to be all-encompassing. It also had to be limited to avoid becoming a difficult and unmanageable tome. Nevertheless, for a second edition, I propose the inclusion of a few additional excerpts from texts of the later centurier: from Anna Comnena on Byzantine-Latin relations, for example the Byzantine view of the Latins who participated in the first Crusade; and from the same author describing the St. Paul's complex of institutions illustrating the state's philanthropy and concern for social welfare. I would also recommend excerpts from the typikon of the Pantokrator Monastery bearing on medical and hospital care; from Alexios Makrembolites' "Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor"; from Nicolas Kabasilas' anti-zealot discourse; and from patriarchal acts and church canons.

An English translation of the presnt volume should prove very valuable to students and instructors of medieval and Byzantine history who do not read Greek.

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Theodore S. Nikolaou. *Αἱ περὶ Πολιτείας καὶ Δικαίου ἰδέαι τοῦ Γ. Πλήθωνος Γεμιστοῦ. Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα καὶ Μελέται*, 13. *Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν 'Ερευνῶν*, 1974. 138 pp.

Among the perplexing problems confronting students of the last centuries of the Byzantine Empire is the polarity between the sterility and declining fortunes of the state, and the relative brilliance and vitality of its literary and artistic accomplishment. Toward the end, while the center of the empire was rapidly declining because of internal decay and external pressure, life in the Peloponnesus was flourishing: it was in Mistra that Hellenism found its expression and the will to survive on the very eve of the collapse of the empire. We know a great deal about the exponent of the movement, George Gemistos Plethon (1353-1452), who is also an excellent mirror for these later years, as his writings express ideas central to the decline and fall of the empire. Plethon, who died almost a centenarian a few months prior to the fall of Constantinople, was a Neo-Platonist and humanist, political thinker and social theorist, teacher and jurist in Mistra, advisor at the court of the Despotate of Morea, delegate to the Council of Ferrara-Florence, public lecturer who was in large part the inspiration for the foundation of the Platonic Academy in Florence, and perhaps the most original thinker Byzantium produced. Yet many of his views are unknown, or known only in outline, because his last and most important work on *Laws*—of which only fragments survive—was destroyed by the ecclesiastical authorities after his death. To the end of its days Byzantium had trouble with its intellectuals, and Plethon, who challenged the Christian-Aristotelian synthesis and by reverting to Platonism constructed a neo-pagan religious and philosophic system, was perhaps the best example and one of the last. He has been called the first true spokesman of neo-Hellenism, and even credited with the vision of a Utopia to be created in the Peloponnesus. Rather than calling him a Utopian, we should consider him a reformer and revolutionary, in the same sense as Solon the Athenian statesman and poet. The main difference is that Solon saw the danger to the state and was successful in carrying through a program of agrarian, legal, and constitutional reforms that left a lasting mark on the Athenian State, while Plethon saw the approaching menace and repeatedly cried out, but was unheeded. Though the dangers he foresaw doomed the empire, his ideas were not implemented because they were too radical for the period, and he lacked the power to impose them. However, he did not abandon his ideas, and neither did his students.

Nikolaou has provided a compact and credible synthesis of the political, social, economic, and legal ideas and theories of Plethon. He considers his subject in broad terms, spanning the entire spectrum of Plethon's views in three main chapters. The first

(pp. 33-45) is an overview of the political situation and the intellectual climate during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, discussing the ideas of the Hesychasts and mysticism, Baarlam, Palamas, and Cydones. Nikolaou convincingly differentiates the various intellectual trends, showing that Plethon began to break fresh ground toward a new and different political orientation without following in the intellectual paths of his contemporaries. This background is essential to show that Plethon–contrary to his predecessors who did not incline to social and political issues–showed a sincere interest in the problems of contemporary society and politics which is unique in the history of Byzantine thought. The second chapter (pp. 49-102), the most substantive of the three, concerns "politics" and discusses the meaning, beginning, and purpose, as well as the types and function of political systems, including ideal systems, social classes, and the national character of politics. In this section and the third, Nikolaou discusses Plethon's views within the context of the ancient authors, with numerous examples indicating the eclectic nature of Plethon's thought, and his role to reveal to those in power the problems facing the state and possible solutions. In this capacity Plethon does not make theoretical analyses, but demonstrates measures to be undertaken to achieve practical results. The third chapter (pp. 105-22), dealing with law and justice, briefly surveys the views of ancient Greek authors as a background to those of Plethon, and concludes with a discussion of the role of justice in the political system. Plethon gives justice the highest priority in his *Laws,* which must guide rulers, so that they–with the advice of judges and lawgivers–will serve the state by correcting wrongs in society. Above all, as Nikolaou indicates in the epilogue (pp. 123-25), his political plan demands a well-structured society with just advice and superior laws. In contrast to a visionary who dreams of a Utopia, Plethon is interested in solving the known needs of society; few of his ideas are impractical, although he does not seem to see the danger in an ideal society based on the "politics of excellence," where an aristocracy of virtue and knowledge rather than wealth and ancestry would be in control.

Throughout his study Nikolaou has touched the main aspect of Plethon's political thought, including his views on regulation of trade, land nationalization and reform of the economic and agricultural system to offset the power of the landed nobility, simplification of taxation and reform of the currency, reform of the army to replace mercenaries, reform of the penal system, and religious reform. He also discusses Plethon's "Hellenic theology," beginning with his criticism of monks and monasticism. The portrait that emerges is one of a fervent patriot who strives to reinforce the middle class as the strength of the state. Of course the picture must remain fragmentary, because of the loss of the *Laws* and the scattered nature of Plethon's other works. The critical edition of all of the works of Plethon suggested by Nikolaou (p. 28, n. 2) would do a great deal to allay our curiosity, and will be the essential first step toward any attempt at a full understanding of the social and intellectual impact of Mistra. Yet even now there are a number of points that might have been mentioned or discussed. For example: what was the role of the social and economic upheavals of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (such as the Zealot Revolt in Thessaloniki, and civil strife elsewhere) in shaping the thought of Plethon? Was there any correlation between the intellectual activity of Plethon and his circle, and the dynamic new forms and creative genius represented in the works of the artists who decorated the churches of Peribleptos and Pantanassa in Mistra? Even more important would be a consideration of the views of his students, such as Bessarion, whose letters often reflect the views of Plethon. Even though these and other questions might be beyond the scope of the present volume, some mention of them would have been useful. Nikolaou has given us a good synthesis; his study is also blessed with an exemplary bibliography of Plethon's works and of secondary aids (pp. 15-26), and the footnotes are especially rich, with valuable references to both primary and secondary literature not given in the bibliography.

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The ΛΟΓΟΙ ΔΙΔΑΚΤΙΚΟΙ *of Marinos Phalieros.* Critical Edition by W. F. Bakker and A. F. van Gemert. Byzantina Neerlandica, 7. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977. 140 pp., index verborum. 40 guilders.

The Cretan branch of the noble Venetian family of Falier had two persons called Marinos Phalieros who might be identified with the Greek medieval poet and author, among other works, of the poem edited with commendable accuracy by two distinguished Dutch scholars.

According to van Gemert's thesis (see also his *Marinos Falieros en zijn beide liefdesdromen* [Amsterdam, 1973], pp. 125-61), this Marin must be identified with the older Marin Falier, who was born before 1397 and died in 1474, and not with the second Marin (1470-1528). A section devoted to this identification, which is based upon persuasive and consistent arguments, precedes the study of the author's other works and the structure and contents of the Λόγοι διδακτικοί, which are the central and most important subjects of the book.

The analysis of the various components of the ideology of Phalieros' work—the "road to virtue," the exhortation to ἀγάπη, to be πραΰς and πρακτικός, to renounce the world, etc.—and its position in Greek literature as a didactic poem in comparison with other medieval texts (like Σπανέας, Georgillas' Θανατικόν, Pikatoros' Ῥίμα θρηνητική, etc.) proves careful and exhaustive, especially impressive in view of the extreme rarity of books as strict as this one in the field of medieval Greek philology, a branch of our science that needs to be treated with methodological care and with modern standards.

Also very interesting is the chapter on language and style, with its attentive examination of "the κοινή of the vulgar post-byzantine literature suffused with an admixture of elements of the Cretan dialect, quite a few archaisms in most cases derived from the language of the Church, and some Italianisms" (p. 40). The authors attract attention to a number of remarkable and unusual traits of the morphology (for example non-inflected gen. τοῦ ἀποστάτα, l. 52, and τοῦ Ταρκίνο, l. 123, both Italianisms; gen. sing. πραγμάτου, l. 1, Πνευμάτου, l. 2; accentuation ἀλλοῦ, l. 24, παντῶν, l. 18; pleonastic contamination of the two types of comparatives: πλιὰ χερότερος, l. 226, etc.) and syntax (future with νά + subj., l. 223; optative with μαγάρι νά + imperf., l. 245; temporal clause denoted by τό + aor. inf., l. 90, etc.). There are noteworthy Italianisms (κοντετζιόν = "condition", γουνέλα, δηνέρι, καβαλαρία, καπετάνιος, σολδί, φαμέγιος; see also the old Latinisms: κάστρο, σαγιττά, σπίτι, στράτα, φουσάτο) and Cretan dialectisms (loss of the -ι- after σ and ρ/λ, metathesis of ρ, epenthesis of the intersonantic -γ- in the verbal suffix -εύω, etc.).

The principles of the ecdotic are well-balanced. The editors have introduced corrections only where the *Codex unicus Vallicellianus 39* (C 46) shows lacunas or mistakes affecting the purport of the text, the syntax (with great attention to Phalieros' use of language and style as known from his other works) and the metre. The *apparatus criticus* is negative and includes neither orthographic blunders nor errors made by the previous editor G. Th. Zoras (see Κρ. Χρ., II [1948], 213-34); however many of the latter's corrections have been introduced together with some of the readings of the Λόγοι διδακτικοί of Markos Depharanas (a medieval collection of advices that includes all of Phalieros' verses). From Depharanas' work in particular is added also (very arbitrarily, in my opinion) the title of the Greek text Λόγοι διδακτικοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱόν before the manuscript title ποίημα τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου μισὲρ Μαρῆ Φαλιέρου.

The book—unfortunately devoid of an English translation—is supplied with an up-to-date commentary and an *index verborum;* the latter includes all words occurring in the text with the meanings of the rather unknown or unusual ones.

Roberto Romano *Università della Calabria*

Χρίστου Θ. Κριχώνη. ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ, ὑπό ΝΙΚΗΤΑ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑΣ, *κατά τόν κώδιχα* ΙΒΗΡΩΝ 371. Thessaloniki: Κέντρον Βυζαντινων 'Ερευνῶν, 1973, 530 pp.

This book was written with the lay scholar in mind. It is written in a simple idiom though complex style, and deals with one of the most difficult and confusing writers of the late Byzantine period. The author indicates that the commentary on Luke by Nikitas, Metropolitan Bishop of Herakleia in the eleventh century, is the most important of the many commentaries that he wrote. It is a fascinating compilation which can be found in Codex 371 at the Monastery of Iviron on Mt. Athos. It was first published in the seventeenth century in a Latin translation by the Jesuit, B. Corderius, which is found in volume nine of A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio.* Though it has not fared well in the history of exegesis in the past, the *Compilation of the Fathers according to the Gospel of Saint Luke* deserves more careful study, if for no other reason than its considerable references to the historical writers of the early Christian Church in the East.

Professor Krikonis' book is an exegetical rather than an historical or mystical study. Thus the author follows a well known pattern in presenting the theme of Nikitas. He seems to be conscious of the difficulties encountered by Sickenburger and Karo-Lietzmann in attempting to deal with the inner content of the Iviron Codex 371. From Gregory of Nyssa to Photios, one hardly finds a writer who has attempted to analyze and present satisfactorily the inner content of the Gospel of Luke which Nikitas does so well. Professor Krikonis is meticulous and concise. He has studied all of the previous scholars of Nikitas and shows where they fell short in analyzing his manuscript.

The book falls into two parts. In the first the author discusses, as one would expect, the purpose of his study, authorship, canon, codex, etc. He also introduces ways in which attempts have been made to interpret the manuscript. He then proceeds to the second part, the commentary proper.

Though this work was intended for scholars, it undoubtedly would have been richer had the author included in his research and bibliography the works of ancient exegetes of the Western Church. Every attempt at such a commentary, even if aimed at a particular group, ought to take into serious consideration ancient and medieval writings of every persuasion, which Professor Krikonis fails to do. But as he states, his main concern was to uncover discrepancies found in the original publication, which, as the reader discovers in the second part, amount to about 2,500 unexamined mistakes. Although the author attempts to show that Sickenburger, Devreesse and Mai did not adequately compare the Iviron Codex 371 with that of the Vatican Codex 1611, he does not demonstrate where his colleagues fell short of the mark.

Nevertheless, this reviewer congratulates the author because his is the best attempt to date to analyze this often elusive and deceptive writing. One of the most fruitful aspects of the deepening ecumenical encounter characteristic of contemporary Christianity is the renewed interest in this kind of research. Together with the remarkable developments in Biblical research, this turn to the sources of Christian faith, the fathers and the councils of undivided Christendom, augurs well for disciplined and informed conversation among scholars. At this time when the understanding of "tradition" and its relation to the early writings occupies the serious attention of Roman, Protestant, and Orthodox theologians and historians, Professor Krikonis' compilation and fresh approach to scholarship is sure to contribute importantly to a broadened appreciation of those who helped to formulate the apologetic and patristic structure of Christian faith. This patristic anthology will take its place as a classic source book, providing insight into the formative period of later Byzantine thought and institutions.

Miltiades B. Efthimiou *Avis Research Center*

Stylianos Pelekanides and Panayiota I. Atzaka. *Σύνταγμα τῶν Παλαιοχριστιανικῶν Ψηφιδώτων δαπέδων τῆς* Ἑλλάδος, I. Νησιωτική Ἑλλάς. Thessaloniki: Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν, 1974. 188 pp. 7 maps, 14 dwgs., 141 black and white plates.

This is the first of two publications on Greek mosaic pavements dated between the fourth and seventh centuries. It and the forthcoming volume on the mosaics of continental Greece will provide valuable material for scholars of early Christian and early Byzantine art, more perhaps than the previously published catalogues for France, Italy, Switzerland, Lebanon, Germany, and Tunisia, which all contain descriptive material largely from earlier periods.

The catalogue includes over two hundred and fifty published and unpublished mosaics from twenty-seven islands. It represents an enormous effort because many of the pavements were never properly recorded or photographed and archaeological data was wanting. Still, despite this paucity of documentation–a problem belabored by Professor Pelekanides in the introduction–this volume could have been better. It is disappointing because it lacks an introductory essay on the stylistic, iconographic and chronological development of the floor mosaics, and because it reflects antiquated procedures and methods for recording and describing them. As a result, its usefulness as a research tool is severely limited.

Instead of an analysis of the material from the Islands, which after all is the subject of the book, the introduction presents some "General Observations" on the figural, floral and geometric pavements throughout Greece. Although this summary of the material may be worthwhile, it should have come in the second volume so that the reader could have available a complete photographic documentation of the material under discussion. As it is, the introduction is not useful except to the few specialists who are already familiar with the pavements on the Greek mainland. Moreover, as a result of the too general nature of the survey, no clear picture emerges of the growth and development of the pavements on the Islands. This is rather disheartening because the material is very important and, from many points of view, quite different from the pavements elsewhere in Greece and throughout the Greek East.

More successful is the inventory of the mosaics which reports the location and condition of the pavements and provides detailed descriptions and photographs, whenever possible, of the borders and fields as well as transcriptions and emendations of the inscriptions. But because entry numbers are given to the buildings only, not to the pavements, it is often difficult to find the description of a particular pavement and the problem is compounded by the absence of catalogue numbers on the photographic plates. Missing, also, are detailed color notes and technical information on the fabric and dimensions of the tesserae and the foundations. Moreover, there are few ground plans with the mosaics drawn in and no archaeological data or stylistic criteria are adduced to validate the datings proposed. These are lacunae which substantially diminish the value of the inventory. The fault is all the more regrettable since recent mosaic corpora for Italy and Tunisia provide models for more modern methods of recording and describing the pavements and their architectural contexts. Still, although important documentation for the pavements is missing, even where it was possible to supply it, the catalogue remains a useful tool if for no other reason than that it brings together for the first time material from widely scattered sources. For this alone, we remain grateful to the authors.

Marie Spiro *University of Maryland*

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PROFESSIONAL NEWS/NOUVELLES DE LA PROFESSION

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

The Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies offers annually a limited number of Visiting and Junior Fellowships to qualified scholars and students of Byzantine and related fields of history, archeology, history of art, philology, theology, and other disciplines. Additional information and applications may be requested from the Director of Studies, The Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1703 Thirty-second Street, Washington, DC 20007.

The Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, makes available annually several research assistantships designated for the field of Byzantine studies. For further information and application forms, write to the Director, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90025.

RECENT CONVENTIONS

[*Editor's Note;* The following communication was submitted by David H. Wright of the University of California, Berkeley.]

An informal working session on "Byzantine Art and the West" was organized for the annual meeting of the College Art Association in Los Angeles on 4 February 1977, by Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (University of California, Los Angeles) and David H. Wright (University of California, Berkeley). There were six short papers, each followed by extensive discussion: M. F. Hearn (University of Pittsburgh), "The Influence of Byzantine Relief Icons on the Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the West"; Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (University of California, Los Angeles), "Two Unusual Byzantine Steatites"; Ljubica D. Popovich (Vanderbilt University), "Serbian Frescoes and Western Influences"; Jean Owens Schaefer (Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies), "Two Issues in the Figure Style in an Manuscript from Norman Sicily"; Anthony Melnikas (Ohio State University), "The Illuminated Bibles of Italo-Byzantine Style in the Late Thirteenth Century"; and David H. Wright, (University of California, Berkeley) "The Three Painters at San Pietro in Otranto." At the end of the session, A. Dean McKenzie (University of Oregon) showed slides of some recently discovered twelfth-century frescoes for an open discussion of their date and significance.

The session was remarkably popular, with as many as seventy people in a standing-room-only crowd. The active aprticipants in the very lively discussion exploring the implications of the topics presented were mostly specialists in Byzantine or Western medieval art, but the audience included a number of specialists in other periods who came looking for new material for their general teaching. Several of these made a point of praising this kind of informal session as being more helpful and stimulating than the usual pattern of prepared papers and prepared comments. The success of this session demonstrated a wide awareness of the importance of Byzantine art for the whole history of European art.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The Fourth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference will be held at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, 3-5 November 1978. The Conference will provide a forum for the presentation and discussion of research papers in all areas of Byzantine studies. The program and local arrangements are under the direction of Professor John Fine, Department of History, University of Michigan.

The Fifth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference will be held tentatively 19-21 October 1979 at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington, DC. Information on local arrangements and the program will be made available at a later date.

The University of Birmingham has announced that its Twelfth Spring Symposium will have as its theme "The Byzantine Black Sea." The symposium will meet 18-21 March 1978. The Symposium directors are Anthony Bryer, Odysseus Lampsides, and Dimitri Obolensky.

The Second Conference on Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies will meet 31 March-2 April, 1978, at Ladycliff College, Highland Falls, NY. All correspondence should be directed to Professor Anthony R. Santoro at Ladycliff College. The 1979 meeting will take place at Rutgers University.

BYZANTINE STUDIES/ETUDES BYZANTINES, 4, Part 1 (1977), 107-08.

BOOKS RECEIVED/LIVRES RECUS

Beyer, Hans-Veit, *Nikephorus Gregoras Antirrhetika I. Einleitung, Textausgabe, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen.* Wiener Byzantinistische Studien Band XII. Wien: Verlag der Österreichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976. 493 pp. DM 130.

Cutler, Anthony. *Transfigurations: Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography.* University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976. xviii + 159 pp. 107 black-and-white illustrations. $22.50

Demus, Otto. *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium.* New Rochelle, N.Y.: Caratzas Brothers, Publishers, 1976, rpt. of 1948 original edition. xiv + 97 pp. 64 black-and-white plates. $17.50.

Dumbarton Oaks Bibliographies Based on Byzantinische Zeitschrift. Series I: *Literature on Byzantine Art, 1892-1967.* Vol. II: *By Categories.* Edited by Jelisaveta S. Allen, London: Mansell, 1976. xvii + 586 pp.

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Geanakoplos, Deno J. *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance. Studies in Ecclesiastical and Cultural History.* rpt. 1966. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1976. xii + 206 pp. 30 plates, 3 maps, and 4 illustrations. $10.00

Geanakoplos, Deno John. *Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330-1600).* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976. xxii + 416 pp. 5 maps, 18 black-and-white plates. $27.50.

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Mathews, Thomas F. *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey.* University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976. xx + 405 pp. Maps, plans, drawings, and 653 black-and-white illustrations. $50.00.

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Proclus. *Théologie platonicienne.* Edited and translated by H. D. Saffrey and L. G. Westerink. 2 vols. Paris: Société d'Edition 'Les Belles Lettres.' 1968-1974. cxcv + 173, and xciii + 144 pp.

Restle, Marcell. *Istanbul, Bursa, Edirne, Iznik, Baudenkmäler und Museen Reclams Kunstführer.* Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jun, 1976. 632 pp. 184 plates, plans and illustrations. DM 42.80.

Simon, Dieter, editor. *Fontes Minores I. Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte.* Band I. Frankfurt am Maïn: Vittorio Klostermann, 1976-. xi + 196 pp. DM 68.50.

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ARTICLES

JOHN WORTLEY (Winnipeg, Canada)

The Oration of Theodore Syncellus (BHG 1058) and the Siege of 860

The Oration *in depositionem pretiosae vestis Deiparae in Blachernis (BHG 1058)* often ascribed to one Theodore Syncellus is a document which presents certain problems of dating and authorship of considerable complexity.[1] These have attracted a degree of scholarly interest in the past, and the treatment of them has been partially reviewed in a recent book by Jan Louis van Dieten who used the document in question as primary evidence for the patriarchate of Sergius I (610-38), and more specifically for the Siege of Constantinople in 626.[2] Since there appear to have been some contributions to this matter which were inaccessible to van Dieten (notably by Jugie and Wenger), the time may not be inopportune for reopening the question, and for introducing some new considerations which (so far as I am aware) have not yet been published.

It being the case that *BHG 1058* may not be readily accessible in its entirety to all readers, it may be advisable to begin with a brief discussion of its contents. It begins thus:

> *Θεῖά τινα καὶ μεγάγα μυστήρια Θεοῦ φιλαοθροπίας γνωρίσματα τῶν ἡμετερῶν οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν γεγόνασιν γενεῶν· ἐφανερώθησαν δὲ ταῦτα τηλαυγέσυερον καὶ ἐκτυπώτερον χρόνῳ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ὧν αὐτόπται καὶ θεωροὶ γεγόναμεν ἅπεαντες ὁσοι ταύτην σχεδὸν οἰκοῦμεν τὴν θεοφύλακτον*

1. Εἰς *κατάθεσιν τῆς τίμιας ἐσθῆτος τῆς θεομήτορος ἐν* Βλαχέρναις, ed. F. Combefis, in *Graecolat. Patrum Bibliothecae Novum Auctarium*, 2 vols (Paris: sumptibus Antonii Bertier, 1648), II, cols. 751-86. (N.B., the twenty-third and twenty-fourth columns of the text were incorrectly numbered; they should read 773 and 774). All references are to this, the only complete edition, with corrected pagination. *BHG= Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, ed. F. Halkin, 3rd ed., 3 vols. (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandists, 1957).

2. J.-L. van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610-715), Geschichte der griechisten Patriarchen von Konstantinopel*, Teil 4, Enzykolpädie der Byzantinistik . . . Band 24 (Amsterdam: Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert, 1972), pp. 16 ff., and especially n. 54.

μεχαλόπολιν. ταῦτα δὲ σιγῇ καλυφθῆνει οὐχ ὅσιον οὐ γὰρ θέμις τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια λήθης βυθοῖς συγκαλύπτεσθαι· διὸ καθόσον οἷόν τέ ἐστιν περὶ τῶν οὕτω πως φαωερωθέντων μυστηρίων, εἰπεῖν πειράσομαι.[3]

The writer then goes into a conventional deprecation of his abilities as an orator and a rather beautiful prayer to the Holy Mother for her assistance. Blachernae is then exalted above all the other shrines of the Virgin, and this leads him into the story of how the holy robe came to be there, a re-telling of the Legend of Galbius and Candidus, and of how by a pious larceny, they were able to get their hands on the relic and to bring it to Constantinople in the time of the Emperor Leo I and Verian, who jointly built the *σορὸς* at Blachernae to house it.[4] Then comes a "bridge passage" leading into the second part of the oration: *Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἅπερ ἡ Θεοτόκος ἐν Βλαχέρναις ἐθησαύρισεν τῇ πόλει μυστήρια· τίνα δὲ ἅπερ ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνῳ γεγόνασιν· ὧν αὐτόπται καὶ θεωροὶ καθεστήκαμεν ἅπαντες, ἔνθεν ἐρῶ·*[5] Unfortunately he does not do what he says he is going to do. The events in question are so well remembered by almost all his auditors that he can quite safely leave most of the story untold. Indeed at one point, having told how the barbarian chieftain sought an interview with the emperor, he breaks off in a most tantalising way and says: *τά δὲ ἑξῆς· ἕτεραι βίβλοι φερέτωσαν· ἐπ' ἄλλο γὰρ ἄνωθεν ὁ λόγος τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐποιήσατο·*[6] The object of the Oration is to praise the Robe of the Virgin, and no more of the story will be told than is absolutely necessary to achieve that object. Consequently what we have is a series of reflections upon a certain situation without having more than a very shadowy idea of what the situation is. What little we can gather of it can be separated into two parts.

Everything was at peace when, not many years ago, a most terrible attack was launched against Constantinople by an unidentified and terrible foe. *ὅτε τοίνυν ἀρχὰς εἶχεν ἔτι ἡ τῆς φοβερᾶς ἐκείνης καὶ φθοροποιοῦ νόσου ἀνάβασις, καί τις παρασκευὴ ἀνθρωπίνως εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἠλπίζετο· ἅπαντα δὲ τὰ πρὸ τείχους διοῦντες κατέτρεχον οἱ πολέμιοι, ἱερά τε καὶ ἕτερα,*[7] it was thought a wise move to anticipate the greed of the enemy by removing all the valuable gold- and silver-work which decorated the Blachernae Church.

3. Combefis, col., 751 A-B.
4. *Ibid.*, cols. 757A-773B.
5. *Ibid.*, col. 774B.
6. *Ibid.*, col. 774D. The object of the oration is not to record history, but rather *ἐπαξίως ὑμνεῖν τὰ σὰ μυστήρια*, *ibid.*, col. 753A.
7. *Ibid.*, col. 775B; cf. col. 774E: *ὅτε τοίνυν ἅπαντα τὰ πέριξ τοῦ ἄστεος ὁ βροῦχος ἐκεῖνος ἐπελθὼν ἐλυμήνατο. . . .*

The workmen charged with this task appear to have gone about it with considerable enthusiasm, even to such an extent that they broke into the holy *σορὸς* where they found a piece of imperial purple fabric within a casket.[8] Thinking this to be the actual robe of the Virgin, they brought it to the patriarch who (at the bidding of the emperor) sealed it in the treasury of the Great Church. Here ends the first part of the story; the preacher passes on very quickly to the second part with a few brief words to indicate the passage of time and events: *ὅτε δὲ λοιπὸν τὴν ὑπελθοῦσαν ἔλυσεν χάλαζαν, ἀνατείλας ἡμῖν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας ὁ ἥλιος,*[9] then patriarch and emperor conjointly appointed a high festival for the solemn replacement of the relic. All night long it lay at Saint Lawrence's Church, then in the morning an impressive procession brought it back to Blachernae amidst scenes of wild popular devotion.[10] Within the sanctuary the patriarch opened the casket and found that the purple fabric had crumbled away to dust revealing within that which was taken to be the true robe, for it was undammaged by time or decay. The patriarch fearfully took the relic in his hands and elevated it in the sight of the people for a space of time, after which he replaced it, concluding the solemnities with the Divine Liturgy and general communion.[11]

8. *Ibid.*, col. 775E: *ὁροῦσι δὲ βασιλικῆς ἀλουργίδος μέρος ἐλάχιστον, ὅπερ τῆς θεοτόμισαν εἶναι τὸ περιβόλαιον.*

9. *Ibid.*, col. 778 A-B. One has to ask though, the passage of *how much* time? It might be implied that there elapsed some considerable time (even some centuries) between the finding and the restoration of the robe, in view of the fact that the imperial purple fabric in which it was wrapped at the first opening of the *σορὸς* (*ibid.*, col. 775E) was found to have crumbled away in decay at the second opening (*ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀλουργὶς βασιλικὴ ὅλη διεῤῥύη καὶ ἔφθαρτο*, *ibid.*, col. 779D). However, the way the text passes from invention to restoration with scarcely a pause would seem to suggest a close relationship in time, and both would seem to be intended when we read of those happenings *ὧν αὐτόπται καὶ θεωποὶ γεγόναμεν ἅπαντες* (*ibid.*, col. 751A), *ὧν αὐτόπται καὶ θεωροὶ καθεστήκαμεν ἅπαντες* (*ibid.*, col. 773B and cf. col. 783A). The full force of *ἅπαντες* must be allowed; it is not merely a question of some of us/you, or even of most of us/you, but of *all*, signifying that neither event could have taken place long enough ago for a new generation to have grown up which was ignorant of either. Nor need the decay of the purple fabric argue a separation in time of more than a few weeks between the two events. Archeologists know only too well how artifacts, especially textiles, can survive the centuries in sealed chambers, only to perish rapidly on exposure to the air.

10. It is clear from some of the phrases used that there was a very large popular participation indeed in this event, e.g.: . . . *ὡς καὶ κίνδυνον, ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐλπισθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ συνωθισμοῦ τῆς συνδραμούσης πληθύος* (*ibid.*, col. 778E). *ὁ γὰρ λαὸς οὐκ ἐνεδίδου προστρέχων καὶ συνέχων, καὶ σπᾶσαι θέλων ἐκ τοῦ μυστηρίου ἁγιασμόν, εὐχερῆ τῷ ἱεραρχεῖ τὴν δίοδον* (*ibid.*, col. 779A).

11. *τούτων δὲ οὕτως τετελεσμένων, ἡ πανίερος λοιπὸν γέγονεν σύναξις, τῶν τε θείων λογίων συνήθης ἀνάγνωσις, καὶ τῆς πανιέρου μυσταγωγίας ἡ θεία ἀνάῤῥησις· προθέντος πάλιν τοῦ ἱεράρχου ἐν τῷ παναγεστάτῳ τῆς σοροῦ θυσιαστηρίῳ ὃ αὐτὸς ἐκαινούργησεν τε καὶ καθηγίασεν, τὰ πανάγια τε καὶ ζωοποιὰ τῆς ἀναιμάκτου θυσίας*

Such in brief is what the preacher has to say, and interesting though it undoubtedly is from many points of view, inevitably one is far more interested in what he does *not* say. The return of the relic to Blachernae was a tremendous occasion, redolent of high drama and great emotion which comes through very clearly in the description. It is very clear that this is far more than the restoration of war damage or the return of an evacuee. It is difficult to read the account without feeling that here we are talking about the triumphal procession of a great champion, and the awesome devotion to something which had proved itself to be mighty in deed.[12] So far as I am aware, all the scholars who have dealt with this matter have assumed this to be the case, and it is difficult to imagine how one could think otherwise. Either the relic had delivered, or was thought to have delivered, the City from that dreadful visitation when *τὶς παρασκευὴ ἀνθρωπίνως εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἠλπίζετο*.[13]

Such being the case, almost unbidden the questions arise: Which enemy? What date?—and so forth. The first attempt to answer these questions was made in 1895 by the Russian scholar Chr. Loparev who published a portion of *BHG 1058* together with some old Russian versions of it.[14] In his introduction Loparev gave the opinion that the siege in question was none other than the celebrated Russian attack on Tsargrad in 860, thus the patriarch in question must be Photius. Moreover since the preacher says that nearly all his audience remembers the events in question[15] and later mentions the emperors in the plural,[16] this oration must have been intended for delivery in either 866 or 867 during the brief period when Michael III and

μυστήρια· ὧν αὐτουργὸς κατὰ τὸ θεῖον γενόμενος λόγιον, μεταλαβών τε τούτων καὶ ἅπασιν μεταδούς, ἔτι τε τὴν εἰρήνων τῳ λαῷ ἐπευξάμενος, ἀπέλυσεν ἅπαντας . . . (*ibid*., col. 782D-E).

12. It is indeed never specifically stated that the relic had saved the City, but it might well be implied at the end of the narration of description of how the restoration festival was organized: *ὁ ἱεράρχης τίμιος · · · μεθ' ὑφηλοῦ συγκαλεῖται κηρύγματος ἅπασαν τῶν ἀρχιερέων τὴν σύνοδον, κλῆρόν, ὅσος ἐν ἀνδράσι, καὶ ὅσος ἐν γυναιξίν· ὅσος ἐν τέλει, καὶ ὅσος ἐν ἀξιώμασιν, καὶ ὅσος ἐν ἰδιωτικῷ βιοτεύει τῷ σχήματι· δεῦτε λέγων, ἴδετε ἱερεῖς καὶ λαοὶ, τὰ μεγαλεῖα Χριστοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν· δεῦτε, θησαυρὸν τὸν ἕως νῦν κεκρυμμένον θεάσασθαι· δεῦτε προσκυνήσατε δῶρον πανάγιον, ὅπερ ἡ θεοτόκος εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει δέδωκεν.* (*Ibid*., col. 778B-C).

13. *Ibid*., col. 775B.

14. KH. Loparev, "Старое сеидътельстео о Положениу ризы Вогородицы еъ Влахернахъ ноеомъ истолкоеании примънительно къ нашестеию Русскихъ на Византию еъ 860 году," *Византийский вземенник*, 2 (1895), 581-628.

15. The point is frequently made that the audience saw the events to which the preacher is alluding, e.g.: *οὗτος ὑμῖν ὁ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, ὦ αὐτόπται καὶ αὐτήκοοι, ὁ τῆς ἐμῆς πενιχρᾶς λόγος δυνάμεως* (Combefis, II, col. 783A).

16. *τοῖς πιστοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡμῶν, εἰρηνικὸν παράσχου καὶ πολυχρόνιον τὸ βασίλειον* (*ibid*., col. 783E). I suppose it is just conceivable that in the following phrase there is a play on the name of the Patriarch: *τὸν ὅσιον ἱεράρχην ἐπὶ βίου φωτίζοντα τὸν λαὸν διαφύλαξον*.

Basil shared the purple, presumably on the 2nd of July of one of those years. This is a very tempting explanation, especially in view of Photius' explicit statement: "Immediately as the Virgin's Robe went round the walls, the Barbarians gave up the siege and broke camp."[17] This is indeed the earliest, and so far as I am aware, the only occasion on which there is positive evidence that people believed the City to have been saved by the Robe,[18] but otherwise the arguments in favour of this dating are rather slight. For instance the celebrated words *τοῖς πιστοῖς βασιλεῦσι ἡμῶν* could be no more than a reference to the imperial couple or family as in the Liturgy: *ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβαστάτων καὶ θεοφυλάκτων βασιλέων ἡμῶν*. . . .

It is therefore not surprising that the year after Loparev's work appeared there was some severe criticism of his dating. This came from another Russian, V. G. Vassilievskii,[19] who pointed out that in his opinion *BHG 1058* must refer to a time when Blachernae was still outside the walls of the city; otherwise there would have been no danger of its despoliation and no need to remove the decorations. Since it was not until after the siege of 626 that Blachernae was given its defensive wall,[20] 626 was selected as the siege in question. Moreover, a considerable number of manuscripts attribute *BHG 1058* to Theodore Syncellus, and in the *Chronicon Paschale* there is

17. *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople*, trans. C. Mango (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958), p. 102: *Homily IV*; and cf. p. 109= Τοῦ ἒν ἁγίοις ἡμῶν Φοτίου · · · λόγοι καὶ ὁμιλίαι ὀγδοροήκοντα τρεῖς, 2 vols. (Constantinople, 1900), II, 41-42 and 55-56. See further on this below.

18. There is a story which is found in many places (e.g., the *Oration for the Feast of the Akathist* in Combefis, II, col, 807D-E) to the effect that on 7 August 626 the Patriarch Sergius processed around the City walls not only with the icon mentioned above, but also with the relic of the true cross and with the Robe of the Virgin. The story is manifestly untrue, as Heraclius had not yet restored the True Cross to the Christians. George of Pisidia says nothing of the Robe, and *BHG 1061* (see below) mentions only the icon. There appears to be no pre-860 source for this story. The siege of Thomas the Slav is also said to have been averted by the Robe. It is said (the story seems to have originated with Genesius) that having raised his colors on the roof of the Church at Blachernae, Michael II caused his son (the future Emperor Theophilus) to process around the walls of the City with a relic of the cross and the Robe (Genesius 39 = *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina* [hereafter *PG*], ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 [Paris: Lutetiae, 1857-66], CIX, col. 1037B; cf. *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekkert, Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae [Bonn: impensis E. Weberi, 1838], p. 59 = *PG*, CIX, col. 73A). Considering the resemblances between this story and the one relating to 626, the religious policy of Michael II, and the fact that Genesius wrote at the very least seventy years after the event, it seems quite possible that he had been led astray by more recent events.

19. V. G. Vassilievskii, "Аеары, а не Русские, Оеодоръ, а не Георгий. Замбчания на статью Х. М. Лопарева; " *Византийский временник*, 3 (1896), 83-95.

20. *Sic*, Nicephorus, *De rebus post Mauricium gestis* 21 = *PG*, C, cols. 905C-908A: *ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς πόλεως σὺν Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ εὐχαριστηρίους λιτὰς τῷ Θεῷ προσέφερον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Θεομήτορος τῷ ἐν Βλαχέρναις ἱδρυμένῳ ἀφικόμενοι· (καὶ) τεῖχος εὐθὺς δωμησάμενοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐκείνου ναοῦ φρούριον κατέστησαν·*

a mention of one Theodore Syncellus as a participant in the events of 626;[21] he is named as one of the four ambassadors who went to meet with the khan on the 2nd of August of that year. Furthermore (Vassilievskii argued) *BHG 1058* must have been completed the final redaction of his chronicle, a work which contains a verbatim quotation from the Oration.

As far as the question of authorship is concerned, it must be conceded that Vassilievskii made a telling point, though not necessarily an irrefutable one. Of the seven known manuscripts which attribute the document to Theodore Syncellus, the earliest is dated 1012 A.D.; one is from the fourteenth century and the rest are later.[22] We cannot set aside the possibility of there having been more than one person named Theodore (not exactly an uncommon name) who held the rank of Syncellus,[23] nor for that matter the chance of some enterprising copyist having tried to discover the author of an anonymous text with the aid of the *Chronicon Paschale*.

But to Vassilievskii's two other points we must take exception. In the first place the text does not say expressly that Blachernae was at that time outside the city wall; on the contrary, it leaves it open to suppose that it was already enclosed. The evacuation of the decorations took place when ἅπαντα δὲ πρὸ τεῖχους διοῦντες λατέτρεχον οἱ πολέμιοι, ἱερὰ καὶ ἕτερα·[24] If the rich suburb of Blachernae in its vulnerable position on the Horn were at that time unprotected, would it not have been one of the first areas to have fallen to the enemy? The description suggests that the severity of the onslaught was such that the possibility was arising of having to abandon Blachernae and fall back upon the older line of defence (the wall of Theolosius II), and that it was duly being evacuated in case the possibility became a necessity.

Second, as M. Jugie was to point out in 1944 in a work which strongly favored Loparev's dating,[25] the alleged quotation from *BHG 1058* by George the Monk cannot be taken too seriously. George's work is known to be heavily interpolated, and the fact that Cedrenus omits the passage in question weighs heavily in favor of its having been introduced by a later hand.

21. *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorff, 2 vols., Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: impensis E. Weberi, 1832), II, 721, 11. 8-10: Θεόδωρος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος σύγκελλος·

22. The seven MSS are listed by A. Wenger, *L'Assomption de la T. S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VIe au Xe siècle* (Paris, 1955), p. 115: *Monacensis graecus 146 (anno 1012), Vaticanus graecus 820* (eighteenth century), *Lavra 455* (seventeenth century(, *Dionysiou 169 (anno 1599), Gregoriou 7* (fifteenth-sixteenth century), *Xeropotamou 236* (sixteenth-seventeenth century) and *Turin. LXX c, iii, 13*(fourteenth century).

23. Certainly a Theodore (Santabarenus(is known to have stood high in the favor of Photius, at least during the first patriarchate.

24. Combefis, II, col. 775B.

25. M. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge, étude historico-doctrinale*, Studi e testi, 114 (Vatican: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1944), p. 704, n. 2.

To this could be added that the degree of disparity between alleged source and supposed plagiarist is so great that the possibility of both having used a common source must be considered; and since it seems that the completion of George the Monk's work cannot be dated with any greater accuracy than to the reign of Michael III, there is still the possibility that the final redaction was not made until after 860.

In 1955 A. Wenger published a work in which he rejected both Loparev's and Vassilievskii's datings of the siege in question, and advanced in their place an ingenious hypothesis of his own in favor of the year 619.[26] Vassilievskii had already drawn attention to some resemblances between *BHG 1058* and a certain anonymous description of the siege of 626, as it is usually called (*BHG 1061*)[27] On the basis of internal evidence relating to style, idiosyncracies of expression and so forth, Wenger came to the conclusion that *BHG 1058* and *BHG 1061* were not only similar; they were actually written by the same person, though not in connection with the same set of events. *BHG 1058* he felt could not possibly refer to 626 because it says very clearly that the emperor was present in the city if not at the very outset, certainly very early on, throughout, and at the end of the said siege, whereas nobody is going to question the fact that Heraclius spent the whole of 626 far away in the east. For this reason, Wenger suggested that the event in question was seven years earlier, when Heraclius went out of the city to meet with the khan, ostensibly to talk of peace, but instead nearly fell into a mortal ambush.

Wenger certainly drew attention to some striking similarities between the two documents, but one extraordinary difference he overlooked. The writer of *BHG 1058* had a marked penchant for the work *πάντως* as an emphatic exclamation. Such use is not of course unknown elsewhere, but here it is used at least ten times in the course of the oration, and this surely is remarkable.[28] On the other hand there does not appear to be a single occurrence of this peculiarity in *BHG 1061*. It seems at least unlikely that a writer who used such an expression so freely in one work should be able totally to supress it in another, and therefore unlikely that both documents are by the same author. Moreover Wenger's identification of the events of 619 with those described in *BHG 1058* is puzzling; he gives a brief summary of the events of 5 June which seem to bare very little resemblance to the account

26. Wenger, ch. III: "Le vetement de la Vierge aux Blachernaes; Histoire Litteraire des sources," pp. 111-39 and 294-310.

27. *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, ed. A. Mai, 10 vols. (Roma: Typis sacri Consilii propagando Christiano nomini, 1852-1905), II, 423-37; also *Analecta Avarica*, ed. L. Sternbach (Kraków, 1900), pp. 298-320.

28. *Vide* Combefis, II, cols. 754C, D and E; 758E; 759C; 762B; 763E; 770C; 782A and 784B (*et al.*?).

in the *Chronicon Paschale* and even less to Bury's rather fuller account.[29] What happened that day seems to have been no more than a hasty raid under pretence of negotiation whilst the emperor was probably on a hunting expedition; it bears little resemblance to the situation implied in the Oration. Nor is it obvious why Wenger was so disturbed by the absence of Heraclius from the city in 626. It is very clear that the son of Heraclius, Heraclius-Constantine, was in the city at that time.[30] Born to Eudocia on 3 May 612 and elevated to the purple on 22 January 613, by 626 he had both the age and the rank to qualify as the "faithful emperor" of *BHG 1058*.

However, the most palpable objection to Wenger's hypothesis is this: if during the year 619 the Robe of the Mother of God had accomplished the sort of significant victory which would seem to be implied in *BHG 1058*, why then was this relic not brought out and used in the much more threatening circumstances of 626? Why was Sergius I content to parade not even with the ikon of the Saviour *ἀχειροποίητος* (which was with Heraclius at the front), but with a mere copy of it?[31] A similar objection can then be made to the 626 dating; if at that time the Virgin's Robe worked a mighty act of deliverence, why do the contemporary records speak only of the ikon?[32] It would appear that the case for an early dating is scarcely proven, whilst the possibility of a later dating has not been eliminated; we will now proceed to examine that possibility.

In this century, the leading proponent of a later date has been Martin Jugie, who fully supported the hypothesis of Loparev. However, it must be pointed out that one of the most important elements in Jugie's case has since collapsed. He was convinced that there was no reliable evidence of a cult of the Robe prior to 860,[33] but since he wrote, Wenger has discovered

29. Wenger, p. 119; cf. *Chronicon Paschale* 391 (= *PG*, XCII, cols. 1000B-1001A); and J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (395-800)*, 2 vols. (London and New York: MacMillan and Co., 1889), II, 222-23.

30. *Vide* Nicephorus Patriarches *ut supra* (n. 20); *Chronicon Paschale* 702-04.

31. *Vide* van Dieten, Exkurs I: "Welches Bild trug Patriarch Sergios am 29. Juli 626?," pp. 174-78.

32. There appears to be no mention of any relic having been used during the dangerous years 674-48, at which time the purely human aid of "Greek fire" seems to have sufficed. In 718 it was the ikon Hodegetria that put the foe to flight *pace* Theophanes (*ad* AM 6218, "in spite of the Emperor's sins").

33. Jugie (*passim*) thought that prior to 860 there was no cult of the robe. See esp. Excursus B: "Les reliques mariales byzantines," pp. 688-707. He was troubled however (p. 693, n. 1) by an anonymous Kontakion which he quotes from *Frühbyzantinische Kirchenpoesie*, ed. P. Maas (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1910-), p. 31, in which the Robe (ἐσθής) of the Virgin is Praised as the shelter and protection of the City. Since Pitra and Maas both felt that this poem should be ascribed to the time, if not actually to the pen, of Romanus the Melode, it seemed to constitute irrefutable evidence of a very early cult of the robe. In fact this is not the case. The word ἐσθής is

and published a previously unknown primitive version of the Legend of Galbius and Candidus *BHG 1058a* which seems to be basic to all the other versions, and which was certainly in circulation before 860.[34] Therefore, there must have been a cult of the Robe before 860, and assuming that *BHG 1058* refers to that year, this is what it implies. If there were no pre-existant cult of the Robe, why was there a σορὸς at Blachernae?[35] How did the workmen who broke into it know, or think they knew, what they had found there? Also the document puts into the mouth of the patriarch a statement which would seem to imply that there was already a feast of the Robe in existence, to which the annual celebration of the events described in the Oration were now to be added.[36] Therefore it can be said with some certainty that not only was there a cult of the Robe before 860, but it was a fairly well developed cult with its own shrine, its own feast day, and its own cult-legend pointing back to the fifth century.

Against this background there are four major elements to be considered, all of which seem to indicate some dramatic occurrence in connection with the Robe *circa* 860. First, with the exception of the primitive form of the Legend of Galbius and Candidus mentioned above (*BHG 1058a*),[37] all the known and dateable references to the Robe of the Virgin are in the works of writers who could have written (and most of whom certainly did write)

used sometimes to connote the Girdle of the Holy Mother (ζώνη); for an example of this which is unmistakable, see *Memologii Anonymi Byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt*, ed. V. V. Latyshev, 2 vols. (Petropoli, 1911-12), II, 342, 11. 4-12 (for 31 August, the feast of the Girdle):

> Φαιδρὰ καὶ πανεύσημος ἡ καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν δι ἔτους ἐπιστᾶσα τῆς ὑπεράγνου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν καὶ Θεοτόκου λαμπρὰ καὶ χαρμόσυνος ἑορτή· τίς αὕτη; τῆς τιμίας αὐτῆς ἡ κατάθεσις ζώνης· τοιγαροῦν δεῦτε, ὦ φιλόθεον ἄθροισμα, φαλμικῶς ταύτῃ καὶ χαρμοσύνως τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιχροτήσωμεν, τῇ Θεομήτορι τὰ χαριστήρια προσάγοντες ᾄσματα πρεπόντως καὶ φιλοτίμως, ὅτιπερ τὴν ἐνατεθειμένην αὐτῇ πόλιν ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς ταύτῃ τε καὶ τῇ παντίμῳ ταύτης ἐσθῆτι περιέζωσε, περιετείχισε, περιέβαλε καὶ κραταιῶς περιεχαράκωσεν·

34. See above, n. 26.

35. The disposition of the σορὸς is described with some accuracy. Those charged with the salvage work at Blachernae ἐτόλμησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς Θείας ἐφάψασθαι ταύτης σοροῦ · · · ἔσωθεν δὲ τῆς ὁρωμένης σοροῦ, ἥτις ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου ἔχει τὴν ποίησιν, σορὸς εὑρέθη λίθου, στιλβούσης λαμπρότητο· καὶ ταύτης ἔνδον πρὸς τῷ μέρει τῷ κατὰ ἄρκτον, εὕρεται κείμενος ὁ θεῖος θησαυρὸς ἐν ἑτέρῳ μικρῷ φυλαττόμενος (Combefis, II, col. 775D). At the restoration of the relic the same disposition is observed: τὴν θείαν ἐσθῆτα ὁ ἱεράρχης ἐνείλησεν, καὶ κατὰ τὸ πρότερον σχῆμα· ἐν ᾧ ὑπῆρχεν σορίῳ κατὰ τὸ ἀρκτῷον μέρος τῆς ἁγίας σοροῦ· ἐναπέθετο (*ibid.*, col. 782D).

36. Thus the patriarch κλειτὴν τὲ αὐνὴν ἑορτῶν ἑορτὴν ὥρισε γίνεσθαι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐτησίοιK ταῖς ἐν Βλαχέρναις τ'λθυμέναις τῇ Θεοτόκῳ, ἑορταῖς τε καὶ πανηγύρεσιν (*ibid.*, cols. 782E-783A).

37. Wenger, pp. 294-302. He designated this text *PVO*; it is based on a tenth-century MS. See *ibid.*, pp. 128 ff.

after 860 and (with the exception of Anna) before 960: George the Monk; Photius the Patriarch; Joseph the Hymnographer, Joseph Cenesius, the *Scriptores post Theophanem* and the derivatives of the Logothete, not to mention Nicephorus Presbyter, author of the *Vita Sancti Andreae Sali.*[38] Surely it is not unreasonable to suggest that it is more likely that *BHG 1058* was in some way directly associated with these many references, rather than divided from them by 250 years of silence.

Second, comparison of the oldest extant version of the Legend of Galbius and Candidus *pace* Wenger (*ut supra*) with later versions of the Legend indicates a very marked change of emphasis. In the oldest version, *BHG 1058a*, the relic is given no particular distinction beyond that which is its due by association; but in the later versions it has assumed the distinctive role of guardian or palladium of the Queen of Cities. In one version for instance the noble brothers attempt to exculpate themselves of their pious theft in a prayer to the Virgin herself:

> *πρὸς γὰρ τὴν πόλιν τὴν σὴν ἡ μετάθεσις, ἣ πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ βασιλὶς καὶ ἀεὶ τὰ σὰ τιμᾶν ἐπιμελῶς ἔγνωκε· ταύτῃ δῶρον ἡμεῖς τὸ θεῖον τοῦτο διακομίσαι σπεύδομεν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῆς μηδέποτε σβεννυμένην.*[39]

38. Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. A. Reifferscheid, 2 vols. (Leipzig: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1884), VII. 3; Photius, *Homily IV*; Joseph the Hymnographer *Canon IV*: ἐν καταθέσει τῆς τιμίας ἐσθῆτος τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ἐν Βλαχέρναις, *PG*, CV, cols. 1003-09; Genesius, p. 39; *Theophanes Continuatus* 59 and 407, *Georgius Monachus Continuatus* 827, and Symeon Magister 674-75 and 736; Leo Grammaticus 241; *Vita s. Andreae SAli*, in *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana, Maii*, VI 4*-111*, 3rd ed. 4* -102* (Paris: V. Palmé, 1863-19-); and *PG*, CXI, cols. 625-888: cc. 203, 204. One should also mention the passages in the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* which speak of the Robe (principally 793. 5-794. 8, and the very curious one at 348. 45-48, one of many examples of serious confusion of the Magrian relics, here with the *ἐπιλόχια*), likewise the reference to the Robe, or rather to *κράσπεδον ἐκ τοῦ μαφορίου τῆς παναγίας Θεοτόκου* which occurs (in connection with the Patriarch Thomas I, 607-10) at c. 128 of the *Vita s. Theodori Syceotis, BHG 1748*, in *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, ed. A.-M. J. Festugière, Subsidia Hagiographica, 48, 2 vols. (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1970), I, 103; cf. II, 216-17 and 250. This saint died in 613 and the *Vita* is, as usual, allegedly the work of a contemporary. Jugie, who only knew the *Vita* in the older edition of T. Ioannou, Μνημαῖ' ἁγιολογικά (VEnezia: Τύποις Φοίνικος, 1884), pp. 381-495, refused to allow this to shake his conviction that there were no references to the Robe prior to 860 on the grounds that the MS tradition of the *Vita* would admit of a *terminus ante quem* no earlier than the twelfth century, whilst the inclusion of verbatim quotations from the *Acta* of the Seventh Oecumenical Council established a *terminus post quem* of anno *787 (Jugie, p. 693, n. 1). We now know that the MS tradition in fact goes back to the tenth century (Festugiere, I, xxv), and many*
established a *terminus post quem* of *anno* 787 (Jugie, p. 693, n. 1). We now know that the MS tradition in fact goes back to the tenth century (Festugière, I, xxv), and many
would regard this *Vita* as having originated prior to ca. 650. The reference cited above has therefore to be either a most extraordinary ἅπαξ dating from thé eleventh century, or an interpolation made after the events described in *BHG 1058*.

In the version of the Metaphrast the entire causality is attributed to the Holy Mother:

> *ἡ τοίνυν ὑπέραγνος μήτηρ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θησαυρὸν τὴν ἰδίαν ἐσθῆτα τῇ ἑαυτῆς πόλει χαρίσασθαι βουλομένη διὰ τῶνδε τῶν φιλοθέων ἀνδρῶν θειοτέρῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ γενέσθαι τοῦτο οἰκονομεῖ.*[40]

Of Joseph the Hymnographer there have survived two Canons in which it is perhaps possible actually to detect the shift of emphasis taking place. One (Canon V) is a hymn to the relic of the Girdle, kept at Chalcoprateia and feasted on 31st July;[41] the other (Canon IV) is in honor of the Robe.[42] These two hymns have some very striking resemblances to each other, to the extent that it is tempting to see them as two versions of the same set of ideas, possibly written before and after Joseph's exile (which seems to have coincided with Photius' first patriarchate).[43] The fifth (and older?) Canon celebrates the Girdle in terms which show that it was definitely regarded as the guardian of the city; it is spoken of as *χαράπωμα ταύτης τῆς . . . πόλεως*,[44] and in the seventh ode the hymn continues:

> *Ἡ πάντων Βασίλισσα πρὸς οὐρανίους σκηνὰς ἀπαίρουσα*
> *καταλέλοιπεν ὄλβον τῇ βασιλίδι πασῶν τῶν πόλεων*
> *τὴν ταύτης ζώνην δι' ἧς περιζώσεται*
> *ἐπιδρομῆς ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων ἐχθρῶν.*[45]

There is of course nothing particularly unusual about this; such language applied to that particular relic is fairly common. What is unusual, and indeed very uncommon until the late ninth century, is that in the other Canon (IV), the same language, in even stronger terms, is applied to the relic of the Robe, which is now cast for the first time in the role of guardian of the City:

39. Latyshev, II, 130, 11. 26-29.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 377, 11. 17-20.
41. *Canon V*: *περὶ τῆς τιμίας ζώνης τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου*, *PG*, CV, cols. 1009-17.
42. *Ut supra*, n. 38.
43. Pending the completion of a critical study, it is of course impossible to be certain that these are genuine works of the Hymnographer, the appearance of Ἰωσήφ in the acrostich not withstanding. If the *Canon* on the Robe is genuine, it must have been written between 867 when he returned from his exile in Cherson, and the year of his death, which has been shown by van de Vorst to have been the same year as Photius' second deposition, 886, *vide Analecta Bollandiana*, 38 (1920), 148-54.
44. *PG*, CV, col. 1013A.
45. *Ibid.*, col. 1015B.

Ὡς πολύτιμον θησαύρισμα κεκτημένη,
ἡ σὲ τιμῶσα πόλις τὴν ἐσθῆτάσου, Κόρη,
πίστει καρασμάζεται, καὶ χάριν κομίζεται.[46]

Likewise:

Ἀνέδειξας τῇ ιασῶν βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων
ἡ τεκοῦσα Βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων καὶ Κυριον,
ἀῤῥαγές ὡς τεῖχος τὴν σεπτὴν καὶ ἁγίαν ἐσθῆτά σου.[47]

Robe and Girdle are even mentioned together as co-guardians:

Σὺ, Δέσποινα ἁγνη, τοῖς σοῖς δούλοις δεδώρησαι
κραραίωμα τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τιμίαν σου ζώνη, καὶ
θεῖον περιτείχισμα.[48]

Nevertheless, in its concluding ode the hymn makes it very clear that it is now the Robe which has primacy of honor for the City:

φαιδρὸν περιβόλαιον τὸ σὸν μαφόριον ἐδωρήσω καὶ
προτείχισμα τῇ σε τιμώσῃ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων πασῶν,
ὡς βασίλισσαν ἁπάντων ποιημάτων τυγχάνουσαν,
Θεοκυῆτορ μητροπάρθενε.[49]

The suspicion begins to arise that the Girdle is being "phased out" as palladium of the city; certainly that appears to be what happened in the end, as can be very clearly seem by comparing two extant homilies on the Girdle. The first one, written by the Patriarch Germanus I (715-30), addresses the relic directly in language of some considerable extravagance, as the two quotations following show:

Ὦ ζώνη σεπτὴ, ἡ τὴν σὴν πόλιν περι-
κυκλοῦσα καὶ περιέπουσα, καὶ Βαρβαρικῆς
ἐπιδρομῆς ἀνεπιβούλευτον διασώζουσα.[50]

46. *Ibid.*, col. 1008A.
47. *Ibid.*, col. 1008C.
48. *Ibid.*, col. 1008B.
49. *Ibid.*, col. 1009C.
50. This magnificent homily *de zona* (*BHG 1086; PG*, XCVIII, col. 372-84) entirely lives up to its splendid opening: δεδοξασμένα ἐλαλήθη περὶ σοῦ, ἡ πόλις τοῦ Θεοῦ, which in the event refers to ἡ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου πόλις. This quotation is from *PG*, XCVIII, col. 377B.

> *Τὴν σὴν κληρονομίαν, τὸν σὸν λαόν, ὦ*
> *πανάχραντε τῆς παναχράντου ζώνη, ὀρθοὺς*
> *τῇ πίστει, σώους τῷ κατὰ Θεὸν βίῳ,*
> *ἀβλαγεῖς τῆς οἰασοῦν ἐπηρείας διάσωζε.*
> *Ἔχοιμέν σε ἰσχὺν καὶ βοήθειαν, τεῖχος καὶ*
> *προσπύργιον λιμένα καὶ καταφυγὴν σωτήριον*[51]

The second homily is a much more sober affair; it is the work of Euthymius the Monk, and if he is to be identified as the Patriarch Euthymius (for which there are some persuasive arguments) it must have been composed somewhere around 900, within about a decade either way.[52] The extraordinary thing about Euthymius' homily is that with only one possible exception,[53] never once does it make the slightest reference to the Girdle as protector of the city. This is a curious turn of events; one hardly thinks of the popularity of relics being subject to fads and fashions, and in any case, cults in general tend rather to expand than to limit their spheres of influence. But this is not the only curious feature of the later homily; in it the relic itself has receded to a very subordinate rôle. The main themes are the dedication festival of the church (Chalcoprateia) and the nature of Christ. It is a very far cry from Germanus' direct appeals to the relic as though it were the Deity. In short, the cult of the Girdle seems to have suffered an eclipse (from which, so far as I am aware, it never did recover), [54] whilst that of the Robe seems to have become very glorious.

Third, two outstanding emperors, Romanus Lecapenus and Alexius Comnenus, neither of them exactly gullible persons, are known to have regarded the relic of the Robe as something from which a mighty act of deliverence could be expected, for each of them took it into battle with him.[55] This seems to indicate two things; first, that at some time prior to the reign of Romanus the Robe had produced a mighty work (or at least, had been thought to have done so); second, that far from being consigned to oblivion,

51. *Ibid.*, col. 377D.

52. *Euthymii monachi encomium in venerationem pretiosae zonae sanctissimae Deiparae necnon in dedicationem sanctae ipsius capsae in Chalcopratiis*, ed. M. Jugie, in *Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907-22), XVI, pt. 2, 504-14, = BHG 1138 ("a Euthymio mon.

Patrologia Orientalis (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907-22), XVI, pt. 2, 504-14, = *BHG 1138 ("a Euthymio mon. [dein part. CP]").*

53. Jugie,. *Patrologia Orientalis*, XVI, pt. 2, 512, 1. 23, the text is a little less than explicit; it is just possible (but by no means necessary) that *ἐν τόποις* could refer to the Marian relics just mentioned.

54. Unlike the feast of the Robe, the feast of the Girdle (31 July) has even disappeared from some of the modern Greek service books.

55. *Theophanes Continuatus* 407; Symeon Magister 736; and *Alexias* VII. 3.

that mighty act had been widely accepted and its memory perpetuated. It can hardly be merely coincidental that there have survived two documents which seem to account each for one of these things, *viz.* Photius' Fourth Homily and *BHG 1058*, the first written in the very year, nay, in the midst of the very events in question, the other a few years later. The main objection to relating both documents to the events of 860 is fairly obvious: there is no specific internal evidence for doing so (otherwise the question of dating *BHG 1058* would not arise). It is however equally true that there is no internal evidence for *not* doing so, and this is a consideration of some importance. The chances of two separate documents concerning two separate (albeit similar) events presenting no contradictory evidence must be, to say the least of it, somewhat remote, expecially in a situation in which the events in question are some centuries apart in time.[56] On the other hand, two documents concerned with a similar event, but from very different points of view, might very well fail to provide conclusive evidence that they are relating to the same events.

It has to be borne in mind that the two documents in question were produced for very different reasons and under entirely different conditions. Photius' concern is pastoral: he wants to ensure that the extraordinary degree of repentence produced by the imminent threat of Russian occupation be something lasting and genuine, and it is a logical sequel to the Third Homily (during the Russian attack) in which he announced that this was divine wrath falling on the evil-doers. "Theodore's" concern is not pastoral, it is cultic; it is with Blachernae Church and more especially, with its famous relic, the Robe, and these he intends to exalt, to the exclusion of all extraneous matter. Thus his homily rises to its climax in describing an event, the restoration of the Robe which must have taken place *after* the delivery of Photius' Fourth Homily.[57] Yet in spite of these considerations, the Oration and the Homily are remarkably complementary. Given the story in the former of the finding of the Robe, then Photius' otherwise inexplicable choice of that particular relic for his procession around the walls can be understood. Given the success which he attributes to that endeavor, the whole story of the restoration in the Oration makes much more sense, and so

56. There is one apparent discrepancy; in a highly rhetorical passage Photius stigmatises the enemy as "leaderless" (*ἀστρατήγητον*), Mango, p. 98, = Laourdas, p. 43. But in the passage which turned Wenger's attention to the events of 619, *BHG 1058*, speaks very clearly of a leader, and in terms which suggest that Photius was being less than precise: *ἐδόκει δέ, καὶ τοῦτο βασιλέα πιστότατον ἔπειθεν, ὡς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκείνων τῶν τοσούτων ὁ ἀγηγούμενος ἐπὶ σπονδῶν εἰρηνικῶν βεβαιώσει, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτὸν ἐθέλοι θεάσασθαι.* Combefis, II, col. 774D.

57. Conversely, Photius' *Third Homily* must have been delivered at a very early point in the story, before the return of the emperor from his mysterious mission of which *BHG 1058* says nothing. See Mango, p. 89 and n. 42.

forth. But there is more to it than that; there are some striking similarities between the two documents, e.g., the visible wasting of the suburbs by the enemy, the suddenness of the attack, the despair of the Romans, the all-night prayers, etc. There are even occasional echoes of the Homily in the Oration, which is scarcely surprising if the latter was in fact composed at Photius' command.[58] So the position would seem to be that whilst there is no conclusive evidence for identifying both with 860, there are some very tempting pointers in that direction, and apparently no conclusive evidence to the contrary.

Fourth, the earliest extant version of the Legend of Galbius and Candidus (*BHG 1058a*) never says exactly which item of clothing it was that the brothers stole from the Jewess, nor indeed would they have known, for they would hardly have opened the box. *BHG 1058a* uses very general terms such as *ἐσθής*, *περιβόλαιον*, *πρειβολή*, *φορεσία* and in this it is faithfully followed by all the later versions of the legend,[59] also by Photius and the author of *BHG 1058*. But in Joseph the Hymnographer's Canon (IV) on the Robe,[60] and again in the tenth-century *Vita Sancti Andreae Sali* there is a precise statement of which item of the Virgin's clothing was preserved in the *σορὸς* at Blachernae;[61] it was her *ὠμοφόριον* or *μαφόριον* as the word was commonly abbreviated, and most subsequent writers use this more precise term.[62] This gradual transition from the general to the precise term would seem to suggest that there had been a discovery of some sort; that by the time Joseph composed his Canon IV men had actually seen something which before (e.g., in the time when the legend of Galbius and Candidus was first written down) they had not seen, and only knew of by hearsay.[63] This seems to be in ac-

58. I have noted the relationship between Photius' *Fourth Homily* and the Gospel passage, Matt. 14. 22-34, elsewhere: *Byzantion,* (1969), 201. Cf. *BHG 1048,* the Metaphrastic version.

59. E.g., Latyshev, II, 127-32 = *BHG 1058e,* and the former, pp. 376-83 = *BHG 1048,* the Metaphrastic version.

60. *PG,* CV, col. 1009 A,C.

61. *Vita s. Andreae Sali,* cc. 203, 204.

62. On this item of clothing and this relic, see du Cange's note *sub μαφόριον* in *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infirmae graecitatis,* and also his note on *Alexias* VII. 3 (n. 98 in *PG,* CXXXI, cols. 547-54). J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance; recherches sur les anciens trésors des églises de Constantinople* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1921), p. 46, n. 51, provides a description of the vestment; cf. *Vita s. Andreae Sali,* c. 101 and also Georgiana Buckler, *Anna Comnena: A Study* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1929), pp. 77-78, n. 2.

63. Two of the MSS on which Wenger based his text *PVO (BHG 1058a)* use the word *μαφόριον* in the *title,* but not in the text. A shorter version of this text was also edited by Wenger, pp. 306-10, "S" = *BHG 1058b* from *Codex Sinaiticus graecus 491.* As Wenger points out, *ibid.,* pp. 96 ff. and 127 ff., this codex is in very poor condition and there is some disagreement about its date, which could be eighth or ninth century.

cord with what is said in *BHG 1058*: first, that when the workmen broke into the holy σορὸς at Blachernae, they brought to light something which nobody had ever seen before[64] —secondly, that in the course of the restoration celebrations, the patriarch unwrapped the relic and elevated it for everybody to see, thus revealing to all that the item of clothing in question was in fact a *μαφόριον*. Now if in fact this relation took place not in the ninth, but early in the seventh century, why should a tradition of referring to the relic in vague general terms have hung on for three centuries whilst men knew all the time what the relic really was? And *a fortiori*, why should the precise term suddenly have come into use so long after the event?

Such then are the considerations which point to a later rather than an earlier dating for *BHG 1058*. To me they seem heavily to outweigh the arguments for an earlier date, and to confirm Loparev's contentions that the patriarch to whom the document refers, and to whom it owes its composition, i.e., to whom the preacher refers as τῷ δὲ τοῦτο πρᾶξαι κελεύσαντ (and elsewhere as ὁ καθ' ἡμας Συμεὼν, ὁ καθ' ἡμας Μωσῆς) and for whose longevity he prays so devoutly at the end, was none other than Photius.[65] On the other hand, that emperor who takes a decidedly secondary (though sufficiently pious) rôle to that of the patriarch must have been Michael III the Drunkard.[66]

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It could contain three uses of the word μαφόριον, once in the title, once towards the end of the text, and once in the repeated title at the end. The last two are however hypothetical reconstructions by the editor, p. 310; the most that can be said with certainty is that the word in question appears in the title.

64. (τὸ μυστήριον) τὸ πᾶσι τέως ἀθέατον, Combefis, II, col. 775D. The point is quite heavily stressed that they did not see the Robe. Thus, *ibid.*, col. 778D, on the night before the restoration, τὸν ἅγιον θησαυρὸν ἅπασι προύθηκεν εἰς προσκύνησιν· κεκαλυμμένον δηλαδή, καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἀθέατον. It is made very clear that not until the time of the restoration was the relic seen, its covering having been mistaken for the object itself, until this fell away leaving the uncorrupted robe, which was once and once only exposed to the sight of the people before being restored to its original position, *ibid.*, cols. 780C-E and 782A-D.

65. *Ibid.*, cols. 751B, 774A, 778D, and 783E.

66. *Ibid.*, cols. 774D-E, and 778B, *et al.*

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The Heraclian Land Tax Reform: Objectives and Consequences

The historians of Byzantium agree that the bankruptcy of the free farmer class in the eleventh century was one of the main causes of the decay of the empire itself. The historians also agree that it was the oppressive tax system introduced during the rule of the Heraclian dynasty which became an essential factor in the destruction of this class.

This article will try to distinguish the principles of the Heraclian land tax reform through an analysis of existing textual and historical materials: *The Taxation Treatise, Cod. Marc. gr. 173*, the Νόμος Γεοργικός, and the history of land taxation from Diocletian to post-Justinian times. With the help of these sources, the article will try to review the elements of the Heraclian land tax reform which are already known, to reconstruct the still unknown ones, to organize all these elements into one system, and to elucidate the weaknesses of this system which led directly to the decline of the farmer class.

Introduction

When Heraclius became emperor in 610, the Eastern Roman Empire was on the verge of total collapse due to the years of unsuccessful wars and internal turmoil and to the series of natural disasters which occured in the second half of the sixth century. When the rule of the Heraclian dynasty terminated with the death of Justinian II in 711, the empire was a strong state founded on a new socio-economic structure entirely different from the old Roman patterns. During the years of the Heraclian rulers, "Byzantium ceased being Roman and started being Byzantine."[1] This success, accomplished under the most unfavorable political circumstances, was due to the introduction of thorough administrative reforms. These reforms attempted two objectives: the improvement of the military strength of the empire and the restoration of its economy.

From the historical developments during the seventh century and onwards, one can conclude that three areas of Byzantine state affairs were

1. G. Ostrogorsky, "Die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Entwicklungs-grundlagen des Byzantinischen Reiches," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 22 (1929), 130.

subjected to the reforms: the army, land tenure and taxes. The reforms abandoned the Roman principles of separation of military and civilian administration. Military premises determined a new concept of administrative division of the state. The system of themes, which probably originated before the times of the Heraclian dynasty, became a part of the reforms. The themes, established initially in frontier territories, populated by soldiers and/or civilian colonists, had gradually replaced the system of provinces and prefectures.[2]

The land reform was aimed at reviving the vast territories of the empire depopulated and devastated during post-Justinian times. Land was given to farmers and soldiers. It was populated by means of colonization, as far as the farmers were concerned, and by the policy of military settlement in respect to the soldiers. Thus the reform put soldiers and farmers in the same socio-economic category: they were all considered small landowners.[3]

The reform of the land tax system was based on the existence of a broad class of small landowners. The large property owners (*οι δυναοί*) had never been a dependable source of tax income. Their involvement in political

2. The question of themes has been a subject of fervent discussion for decades and one of the most controversial issues of Byzantine administration. A comprehensive survey on the discussion from A. Rambout (1870) to 1958 is presented by A. Pertusi, "La formation des thèmes byzantins," in *Berichte zum XI. Intern. Byzantinisten-Kongress* (München: C. H. Beck, 1958). The argument mainly revolves around the time of their establishment. At this point Petrusi, concluding from the *De Tematibus* of Constantine VII that the themes were introduced after Heraclius, criticizes Ostrogorsky's strong conviction that it was Heraclius who developed the system of themes as a part of his administrative reforms. Cf. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, rev. ed., Rutgers Byzantine Series (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1969), pp. 95-98. J. Karayannopulos, "Über die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit des Kaisers Herakleios," in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantologie*, 10 (1961), 53-72; and *idem*, "Die byzantinische Themenordnung: eine Übersicht," *Studi di onore di E. Volterra*, 2 vols. (Milano: A. Giuffrè, 1971), II, 521-26, summarises all the views on the subject and criticizes the scholars linking the establishment of the theme system with Heraclius. Karayannopulos believes that the systems of themes originated in the fourth century and was completed in the eigth. However, N. Oikonomides says that the term *theme* was applied for the first time in 626/27 during Heraclius's campaigns against the Persians. See his "Les premières mentions des thèmes dans la Chronique de Théophane," *Zbornik radova vizantoloskog instituta*, 16 (1975), 1-8.

3. The existence of "farmer-soldiers," assumed in scholarship until the late 1950s, has been brought into question during the last two decades. A survey of the opposing views is presented by W. E. Kaegi, "Some Reconsiderations on the Themes," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 16 (1967), 39-54.

Being a small landowner did not necessarily mean cultivating the land with one's own hands. The institution of tenancy was known in Byzantine land tenure law. Thus I would defend the notion of "farmer-soldier," understood as a soldier who *owned farming land.* See Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 98 and 133; and R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Age of Conquest, A.D. 842-1050," in *Byzantium: An Introduction*, ed. P. Whitting (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1971), p. 66, who states that the soldier's land was "cultivated by his kinsmen . . . he himself was continually drilled."

matters, mainly dynastic struggles, yielded them tax privileges and immunities, eventually disorganizing the fiscal policy of the empire. Thus, the new principles of land taxation had also dictated the policies of the Heraclians toward big property. During the seventh century, considered to be the most difficult times in the history of the Byzantine potentates, the *δυνατοί* were not only prevented from having any political influence upon the throne, but were also deprived of any means of increasing their *latifundia* at the expense of small property.

The Heraclian land tax reform distinguished between the two categories of small landowners as land tax payers. Farmers paid their taxes in money, but soldiers did not pay property taxes *sensu stricto*. Instead of cash payments, they were to provide their own military equipment, including a horse. In this way, the burden of maintaining the army was, to a great extent, shifted from the state to the soldier-landowners.[4]

The exact time of the introduction of these reforms has not been established. Some scholars attribute them to Heraclius himself, assuming moreover that his military successes in the wars with the Persians derived from these reforms. Other scholars, due to the lack of sufficient sources from that period of Byzantine history, have avoided any definite statements which would link the reforms with a particular ruler.[5]

Historical Antecedents

There were no regular land property taxes in the Eastern Roman Empire before Diocletian. Farmers paid only communal duties and occasional contributions in goods which were ordered by the Roman emperors according to the needs of the state. The taxation system introduced by Diocletian was based on the principle of *capitatio-iugatio*: a unit of land (*iugum*) could be taxed only if there was a corresponding unite of manpower (*caput*) to cultivate it. Thus neither a piece of land without a commensurate unit of manpower nor a man who did not cultivate a commensurate piece of land could become an object of taxation. On that principle Diocletian introduced two basic taxes which were collected simultaneously: *capitatio* and land tax.

4. A "Standing Order" of Nikephoros Phokas to the provincial military governors, concerning payments and grants for soldiers, includes the phrase:"... their households and those of the soldiers serving under them, and their retinues, shall be absolutely exempt from taxation: which privilege was granted and reserved to them of old and from beginning. . . . I am ashamed to tell you that these men are flogged . . . by a rascally crew of tax-gathering riff-raff. . . . Sir, your soldiers *must not* be at the mercy of the civil jurisdiction in the provinces..." (*ibid.*, pp. 68-69).

5. Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 95-100, attributes the reforms to Heraclius himself. Karayannopulos, "Über die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit," p. 72, assumes that Heraclius, as busy as he was with the wars, had had "no time nor opportunity" to introduce any reforms.

The rate of the land tax was determined by a set of evaluative norms which constitute the second element of the Diocletian tax system. The criteria for evaluation were extremely simple, being limited to the geographical quality of the land (flat, hilly, etc.) and the kind of goods produced on it (wheat, olives, etc.). Neither the agricultural value of the soil nor the quality of its products was taken into consideration.[6]

This very uneven taxation of the rural population resulted in a situation in which the poorest farmers had to pay the highest tax in relation to the value of the goods they produced. Small land owners and free land tenants (*coloni*) who were not able to pay taxes fled from the countryside *en masse*. Thus the balance between *caput* and *iugum* was upset and the land, deprived of manpower, was no longer taxable. In order to promote the efficient working of the *capitatio-iugatio* system, Emperor Constantine introduced *glebae adscriptio* in 332.[7] This restriction was intended to prevent fluctuation of the rural population and, with it, the decay of the tax base of the state.

Unfortunately, there are no available sources which provide detailed information on how the *capitatio-iugatio* system operated in the continuously changing internal situation of the proto-Byzantine period. Severe depopulation of the countryside due to famines, plagues and wars resulted in continuously deteriorating economic conditions. Moreover, despite the legal prohibition, farmers continued to leave their land in large numbers to escape the unbearable tax oppression.[8] Under these circumstances the *capitatio-iugatio* system could not function in the way intended by its originator. This brought about corrections in the making of assessments and in the ways of collecting the land taxes. The changes were aimed at weakening the previous invariable interdependence between *iugum* and *caput*, thus freeing the new taxation system from the perils of demographic fluctuations. Traces of these corrections were noticeable as early as the end of the fourth century.

6. These statements are based on the views of O. Seeck, "Capitatio," in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der klassischeni Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa, 7 vols. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1894-19-), IV; and *idem*, "Schatzungsordnung Diokletians," *Zeitschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1895), pp. 275-342; of A. Piganiol, *L'impôt de capitation sous le Bas-Empire romain* (Chabéry: Perrin, M. Dardel successeur, 1916); of E. Stein, *Geschichte des Spätrömischen Reiches* (Wien, 1928), pp. 109 ff.; and of Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 40 ff. Karayannopulos opposes these views, insisting that *capitatio* and *iugatio* were two separate independent taxes. See his "Die Theorie A. Piganiols über die jugatio-capitatio und die neueren Auffassungen über die Entwicklung der sozialen und finanzwirtschaftlichen Institutionen in Byzanz," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 19 (1966), 324-49. The following argumentation presented in this article seems to prove the former hypothesis.

7. Seeck, "Colonatus," in *Paulys Real-encyklopädie*, IV, 497 f.; and C. Saumagne, "Du role de 'l'origo' et du 'census' dans la formation de colonat romain," *Byzantion*, 12 (1937), 487-581.

8. K. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts* (Berlin: Weidemann, 1892), pp. 228 ff.

During this period we find the first signs of collective responsibility for land taxes along with the institution of preemption (προτίμησις, C. Th. III. 1.6). The *cataster* of pre-Justinian times had specified two terms for two types of taxation units: ὁμόκηνσα and ὁμόδουλα. The first type included the residents of the same village who paid together and were "embraced by the same tax register." The second one was related to tax units cultivated by enslaved rural workers who were "embraced by the same slavery."[9] These innovations distinctly show a tendency to emancipate the taxation system from the fluctuations of the rural population.

The second implement serving this goal was the compulsory leasing of state-owned wasteland (*adiectio sterilium*) to *proximi quique possessores*. This institution, already known in Ptolomean Egypt, was introduced by Caracalla and a century later by Constantine the Great. In pre-Justinian times the scope of *adiectio sterilium* had been expanded. It had imposed a collective responsibility for taxes on all barren land ascribed to the ὁμόκηνσα type of fiscal units.[10] The origin of these institutions was based on the very existence of rural communities and, in turn, determined their subsequent development.

Lack of sources makes it difficult to trace exactly when a peasant became an owner of land. But peasant ownership of land, which originated not later than some time in the fourth century, opened a new era in the evolution of the farmer class. After that time this class split into two groups which represent the two forms of land tenure in Byzantium: tenancy (free colons) and ownership (free farmers). Communities of free farmers appear to some extent in the pre-Justinian period. Zacharia described the community as an "area of land owned by free farmers" representing a separate *cataster* unit in official financial records, and responsible as a whole for all taxes.[11] In Justinian law the two kinds of land-property taxes, ὁμόκηνσα and ὁμόδουλα, already were present in an institutionalized form. Ὁμόκηνσα referred to the tracts of land which formed a taxable unit regardless of ownership. Ὁμοδου-

9. P. Lemerle, "Esquisse pour une histoire agrarie de Byzance," *Revue historique*, 219 (1958), 37 and 44-45; and Ostrogorsky, "Die ländliche Steuergemeinde des byzantinischen Reiches in X. Jh.," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 20 (1927-28), 27 ff.

10. Zachariä von Lingenthal, pp. 228-36; F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Byzantinisches Archiv, Heft IX (Leipzig: Teubner, 1927), pp. 128 ff.; Ostrogorsky, "Die . . . Entwicklungsgrundlagen," pp. 129-42; J. Karayannopulos, "Die kollektive Steuerverantwortung in der frühbyzantinischen Zeit," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 43 (1956), 289-322; M. I. Rostovtsev, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates* (Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1910), pp. 56-58 and 195-201; and A. C. Johnson, "The ἐπι Βολή of Land in Roman Egypt," in *Aegyptus, rivista italiana de egittologia e di papirologia*, 32 (1952), 61-72.

11. Zachariä von Lingenthal, p. 236.

λα referred to those tracts which belonged to the same owner, regardless of whether they were contiguous. *Adiectio sterilium* in its broadened sense was incorporated into Justinianic law as ἐπιβολή (*iunctio*). Justinian expanded ἐπιβολή even more, in his attempt to remedy a deplorable economic situation brought about by wars, famines and epidemic diseases. Procopius of Caesarea comments: "The pestilence, which had attacked the inhabited world, did not spare the Roman Empire. Most of its farmers had perished of it, so that lands were deserted. Justinian did not exempt the owners of the properties. Their annual taxes were not remitted, and they [the landowners] had to pay not only their own but their deceased neighbors' share."[12] Thus the new scope of ἐπιβολή, besides the double duties of *adiectio sterilium* also covered the responsibility of a farmer for taxes from deserted plough-land adjacent to his own property.[13] This responsibility became the heaviest tax burden of all for the rural population. Moreover, those "who owned land were compelled to feed the Roman army . . . And if sufficient provisions for these soldiers and horses were not to be found on their estates, these unfortunates had to go out and buy them at an excessive price, wherever they could, even if they had to transport them from a distant country . . . This requisition . . . took heart out of the landowners. For it made their annual taxes easily ten times what they had been. . . ."[14] In consequence, the end of the sixth century witnessed an almost complete economic collapse of the rural population.

Sources

The sources: the *Taxation Treatise* and the Νόμος Γεοργικός were part and parcel of the Byzantine legal system. Three factors determined the character of this system: the Roman law, the vulgar law (a "spoiled" Roman law) and the popular law. The Roman law was introduced to the Eastern Roman Empire along with the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212. It granted Roman citizenship to all of the inhabitants of the Eastern Roman Empire. However, the various tribes and peoples living in these territories had already developed their own, strongly differentiated laws. After 212 the native and Roman systems coexisted, influencing one another for over three centuries. Justinian, considering himself an heir of the ancient Roman culture and a perpetuator of the idea of intellectual conquest of the world, had returned in his codification to the "pure" Roman law. He thus eliminated from his *Corpus Juris* the accretions of the vulgar and the popular laws. This new,

12. Procopius, *Secret History*, trans. R. Atwater (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1961), p. 114.
13. Johnson, pp. 61-72; Dölger, *Beiträge*, pp. 128 and 132; and Ostrogorsky, "Die . . . Steuergemeinde," pp. 30-31.
14. Procopius, p. 113.

and very conservative, legal system did not, however, keep up with the existing needs of the culturally and socially heterogenous population of the Eastern Empire. Moreover, since it was written in Latin, the *Corpus Juris* did not have favorable prospects of becoming universally accepted by the Greek-speaking peoples of the empire. Hence the gap between the written laws and the legal practice of everyday life which developed in pre-Justinian times grew wider during the period of the Byzantine Middle Ages. This situation resulted in the coexistence of two kinds of legal instruments, one derived from the official law and the other from common practice. This dichotomy in the legal system had developed to such an extent that the existence of a rule in the official code did not mean that this rule was actually in force. The opposite also held true: the existence of a rule in practice did not necessarily indicate that the rule had its source in the official law.[15]

The sources to be examined in this article represent both types of law: the *Taxation Treatise*—the official law, and the Νόμος Γεοργικός—the practice of the living law. However, unlike the case in many other areas of Byzantine law, the *Taxation Treatise* and the Νόμος Γεοργικός confirm that in matters of taxation the same rules and institutions existed in the official law and in practice. This concurrence makes of them a particularly trustworthy source of information.

Of the two, the Νόμος Γεοργικός is the earlier source. It originated long after Heraclius' death but still during the reign of his dynasty, probably in the last quarter of the seventh century, when the new land tax system successfully operated on the base of a well developed, broad class of small land owners.[16] The territorial extension of the Νόμος Γεοργικός was very wide; it was commonly known and applied from Ravenna in the west to the Caucasus in the east, and from Egypt in the south to Bulgaria in the north. Included in the *Hexabiblos* of Harmenopulos compiled in the fourteenth

15. E. Levy, *West Roman Vulgar Law: The Law of Property*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 29 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1951), pp. 9-11 and 15-16; A. Albertoni, *Per una esposizione del diritto bizantino con riguardo all'Italia* (Imola: P. Galeati, 1927), pp. 206 and 208; and D. Nörr, *Die Fahrlässigkeit in byzantinischen Vertragsrecht*, München Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtgeschichte, 42. Heft (München: Beck, 1960), pp. 7 ff., 114, and 209.

16. Zachariä von Lingenthal, pp. 250 ff.; B. A. Panchenko, *Krest'ianskaia sobstvennost' v Vizantii, Zemledel'cheskii zakon i monastyrskie dokumenty* (Sofiia: Durzhavna pechatnitsa, 1903); W. Ashburner, "The Farmer's Law," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 30 (1910), 85-108, and 32 (1912), 68-95; F. Dölger, "Ist der Νόμος Γεοργικός ein Gesetz Kaiser Justinians II?" in *Festschrift für Leopold Wenger zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (München: C. H. Beck, 1944-45); J. de Malafosse, *Les lois agraires à l'époque byzantine; tradition et exégèse*, Recueil de l'Académie de Législation, t. 19 (Toulouse: F. Boisseau, 1949); Ostrogorsky, *History*, p. 90, n. 3, and pp. 135-37; and J. Karayannopulos, "Entstehung und Bedeutung des Νόμος Γεοργικός," *Byzantinische Zeitschift*, 51 (1958), 357-73.

century, the Νόμος Γεοργικός survived the Turkish domination and was still applied in Greece until the end of the nineteenth century.

The Νόμος Γεοργικός has been preserved in numerous, more or less varying, manuscripts. This discussion will utilise three of these versions: Ashburner's, considered by modern scholars to be the best; Ferrini's, and Harmenopoulos'.[17] The Νόμος Γεοργικός was an unofficial compilation of at least two independent sets of legal norms and of many particular cases elaborated by the common legal practice in problems and conflicts typical for a rural community. The compilation accurately defined the rights and duties derived from land property and land tenure. It also clarified legal means of the protection of the rights of small landowners. More significantly, it contained information about new institutions of land tenure which were developed as a result of the Heraclean land tax reform. At this point the Νόμος Γεοργικός converged with the legal norms of the *Taxation Treatise*. However, the provisions of the Νόμος Γεοργικός related to the responsibility for land taxes have become clear only in the light of the *Taxation Treatise.*

The *Taxation Treatise*, an official instruction for tax collectors, described the duties of a land-owner as a taxpayer.[18]It explained the hierarchich structure of the tax administration, the procedure for assessment, exemptions and changes, and the meaning of the technical terms used in the tax registers. Of a didactic character, the *Taxation Treatise* was composed in a clear, well organized manner, indicating professional competence on the part of its author. The *Taxation Treatise* was written in the late tenth or early eleventh century, much later than the Νόμος Γεοργικός. Nevertheless, this document represents socio-economic and legal institutions which had originated long before it was written, and which remained in force for a long time afterwards.

17. Ashburner, the Greek text: pp. 85-108, and the English translation, pp. 68-95; C. Ferrini, "Edizione critica dell Νόμος Γεοργικός," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 3 (1896), 558-71; and *Constantini Harmenopuli manuale legum sive hexabiblios cum appendicibus et legibus agraris,* ed. G. E. Heimbach (Lipsiae: T. O. Weigel, 1851), pp. 828-51. All of the following quotations are taken from the Ashburner version in his own translation. The two other versions are quoted only if the differences between them and the Ashburner version may throw some additional light on the discussed problem. (My translation).

18. The *Taxation Treatise of Cod. Marc. gr. 173,* f.275v-2181r was discussed by Dögler and published in his *Beiträge*, pp. 113-23. Quotations in the paper refer to pages of Dölger's *Beiträge* (numbers) and to lines on the pages (subscripts), i.e., in the manner applied by Dölger himself in the index.

J. Karayannopulos discovered an older treatise of *Cod. 121 (Zavorda)* which is very similar to the Dölger text, and published in his "Fragmente aus dem Vademecum eines byzantinischen Finanzbeamten," in *Polychronion: Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstage*, ed. P. Wirth (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1966). C. M. Brand published an English translation of both treatises with introductory comments in his "Two Byzantine Treatises of Taxation," *Traditio*, 25 (1969), 35-60; Ostrogorsky, "Die . . . Steuergemeinde," pp. 1-114; and Lemerle, "Esquisse," 220 (1959), 259 and n. 2.

Lack of source material relating the *Taxation Treatise* to the socio-economic questions of the Byzantine Middle Ages makes it difficult to determine exactly when the term ἐπιβολή defining the mutual tax responsibility of neighbors in Justinian's law was replaced by the term ἀλληλέγγτον applied in the *Treatise* (119. 12). The *Taxation Treatise* does mention the responsibility called ἐπιβολή, but its meaning had changed. The new ἐπιβολή committed the whole rural community to pay for the deserted land whenever the responsible neighbors were too poor to pay (277. 39-42. 116). This change was enacted to prevent the massive desertion of land by farmers who were not able to bear the increased tax burdens. Thus the two institutions of ἀλληλέγγυον and ἐπιβολή guaranteed that the new tax system would function successfully. The enforcement of these duties, however, depended entirely on the very existence of a third element: the rural community.

The origin of the institution of the rural community and ἀλληλέγγυον goes back, like the origin of ἐπιβολή, to the time of Ptolomean Egypt. The community was started by an organization of small tenants in order to protect themselves from abuses by tax officials. In Ptolomean times the organization was already established. The community was a corporation responsible for all the duties of its members. The duties included the cultivation of barren land alotted to the community by the state ἀνευ συναλλάξεων (i.e., "without a contract," the later ἐπιβολή). Together, the community paid the rent and all due contributions which were levied collectively. Only tenants renting the best category of land paid these fees independently from the community in small groups, at least two of them together ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης (i.e., "on the basis of reciprocation"). However the community was responsible for these members as well as for all the others. Because the solvency of these rich tenants, which was guaranteed by the ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης obligation, considerably lessened the responsibility of the community, they were also able to move freely and to rent land within several communities at once. Later the responsibility ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης was applied to all tenants.[19]

The legal status of a rural community in the Byzantine Medieval period is clearly outlined in the Νό μος Γεοργικός. The community was an organization of free farmers who owned their land. Every owner had the full right to dispose of his land by leasing it (Article 11-15), exchanging it (Article 3-5) or mortgaging it (Article 67). He might sell or give away his land during his lifetime or in a will. The community was a legal person able to own land by itself. It could be a party in a trial (Article 7) or in a contract (Article 23 ff.). It was responsible for its own obligations and duties as well as for the obligations and duties of all its members.

The rural community represented a basic unit in the Byzantine tax system.

19. Rostovtsev, pp. 159-76.

The territory of the community, described in the cataster as a tax unit (ὑποταγή), was divided into single sections (στίχοι), composed of a few individual farmsteads. Thus the total amount of money due from the whole tax unit was equal to the sum of the taxes due for individually owned farmsteads and for the land owned by the community. The community was responsible for the entire amount (114. 22 ff.). The execution of the tax policy was centralized; all decisions relating to exemptions from land taxes were reserved for the emperor. He granted tax privileges as an act of grace to large property owners. Where small land-owners were concerned, however, he delegated this authority to inspectors (ἐπόπτης; 116. 5).

The *Treatise* specified the tax exemptions applicable to rural communities. It stated: "Total or partial exemptions from taxes may apply to . . . a piece of land or to the whole tax unit" (118. 21-23). The *Treatise* defined a case of total exemptions (ὁλοσυμπάθητον) as a situation "when nothing is to be paid" (118. 24-27). This privilege might be granted when taxpayers had already deserted their land. The *Treatise* provided for total exemption in two situations. First, when several farmers had deserted their land and the rest of the community was preparing to do the same, the whole community might be exempted from tax duties on the already deserted land. Second, if the farmers who deserted their property were alive and there was some assurance that they would come back sometime, their duties could not be transferred to their neighbors, provided these neighbors were too poor to pay them (κουφισμός, 119. 19-26). The partial exemption (ἀποκεκινημένον) was applied in the case of a taxpayer who still remained in the community. He might be partially exempted either by paying the tax on only a part of his land or by paying for all his property, but at a lower rate. However, the main difference between total and partial exemptions lay in the fact that all partial exemptions were to be paid by someone other than the owner: a duty on the exempted tracts within a section was to be paid by the neighbors embraced by the same section. If the whole section was exempted, the duties for the whole territory were imposed upon the neighboring section (119. 14-18). All these exemptions were temporary. Every indication of an increase in the wealth of an individual or a community as a whole resulted in an immediate proportional increase in the tax duties (ὀρθώσις, 119. 138-43; and 120. 1-2).

The Byzantine property law did not accept the Roman institution of *res derelicta* which provided that an object became ownerless in the very moment of its desertion. According to the Byzantine law, the abandoned land remained the property of its owner for thirty years after the act of *derelictio*. As the *Treatise* explains: ". . . after thirty years the exempted territory becomes ownerless" (116. 6-10; and 118. 26-27).[20] These new

20. The same provision in the *Zavorda Treatise*, Karayannopulos, "Fragmente," p. 324.

contents of Byzantine land property law and the duties of a neighbor and the community derived from this law represent, certainly, the fourth element of Heraclian tax reform. The land owner had only to pay taxes on the *property* of his absent neighbor; the community had only to pay taxes on the *property* of its absent members. By thus expanding this responsibility for thirty years, this law became an essential element of the Heraclian tax system, protecting the state income against fluctuations in the rural population.

Summarizing the discussion based on an investigation of the proto-Byzantine and post-Heraclian land tax institutions, one is able to reconstruct the elements of the Heraclian reform related to land property. The point of departure for this reform was to establish a system in which the income from tax duties would be free from the unconditional coexistence of *caput* and *iugum*. This reform had to resolve three issues: what was supposed to be taxed, how the solvency of the taxpayers could be guaranteed, and how the functioning of the executive apparatus could be supervised.

The land, a constant element, became the basis for taxation. All land owners were taxpayers. The payment from the large property was guaranteed by the *glebae adscriptio* of their land workers. The payment from small property owners was assured by establishing these four requirements: the mutual tax responsibility of neighbors (ἀλληλέγγυον); the collective tax responsibility of a community for its members (ἐπιβολή); the institution of the rural community itself as an organization assuring the effectiveness of ἀλληλέγγυον and ἐπιβολή; and, finally, the new contents of land property ownership law, which, abandoning the notion of *res derelicta*, warranted the continuance of tax responsibilities for thirty years. The management of the tax system was based on a network of catasters. Their hierarchic structure paralleled the administrative division of the state. A section (στιχός), the lowest unit of local division, listed the owners of each particular tract of land along with the names of neighbors responsible for each owner's taxes. Every section as a whole was responsible for a definite neighboring section, and every tax unit (ὑποταγή) had to pay for a definite neighboring tax unit in case of its insolvency. The caster also had to supervise the inspectors, whose power was both restricted and controlled by the hierarchic structure of the tax administration. The emperor himself was at the top of the hierarchy, executing unlimited power over all the financial policies and land taxation in the empire.

The Νόμος Γεοργικός

The Heraclian fiscal system discussed above had strong impact on the inner structure of the rural community. In self defense the communities had to develop legal institutions aimed at solving their economic difficulties. These institutions soon matured and are reflected in the Νόμος Γεοργικός. The widely claimed incomprehensibility of its provisions related to

land tenure resulted from the fact that the *Νόμος Γεοργικός* had usually been studied without sufficient reference to the *Taxation Treatise*. In addition, the primitive redaction of the *Νόμος Γεοργικός* also contributed considerably to the misinterpretation of its particular articles. Consequently, the theories and hypotheses which originated from the *Νόμος Γεοργικός* had obscured, rather than elucidated, the character of the Byzantine rural community. In the following comments, the provisions of the *Νόμος Γεοργικός* related to tax duties will be interpreted in the light of the *Taxation Treatise*. The conclusions will contribute to understanding of the socio-economic character of the Byzantine rural community.

The basic right of a peasant who paid somebody else's taxes was specified in Article 18 of the *Νόμος Γεοργικός*: "If a farmer who is too poor to work his vineyard [Harmenopulos and Ferrini: 'his field'] takes flight and goes abroad, let those from whom claims are made by the public treasury gather in the grapes, and the farmer if he returns shall not be entitled to mulct them in the wine. [Ferrini: 'to request anything from them']." The phrase: "those from whom claims are made by the public treasury" (*όι ἀπαιτούμενοι τῷ δημοσίῳ λόγῳ*)[21] has been variously interpreted by several scholars, depending on their familiarity with the relevant fiscal and legal institutions. Heimbach claimed that this phrase referred to tax collectors and his interpretation was not challenged until Panchenko's outstanding analysis of the *Νόμος Γεοργικός*. Panchenko was the first to point out the relationship between the right to collect a crop from someone else's land and the duty of paying taxes for that land. This interpretation was accepted by Dölger and Ostrogorski.[22] These two scholars had already known the *Taxation Treatise* and its definition of the duty of *ἀλληλέγγυον*. Thus Ostrogorski and Dölger were able to verify Panchenko's interpretation and point to the legal base of the relationship between the right and the duty derived from Article 18.

The uniqueness of the provisions of Article 18 has been confirmed by existence of two other provisions in the *Νόμος Γεοργικός*, setting the relationship between an owner and a possessor of his land. Article 17 stated that a peasant who cultivated somebody else's barren land was entitled to

21. *ιη ἐὰν ἀπορήσας γεωργὸς πρὸς τὸ ἐργάσασθαι τὸν ἴδιον ἀμπελῶνα διαφύγῃ καὶ ξενιτευσῃ, οἱ τῷ δημοσίῳ ἀπαιτούμενοι λόγῳ ἐπιτρυγήτωσαν αὐτόν, τὴ ἔχοντος ἄδειαν τοῦ ἐπανερχομένου γεωργοῦ ζημιοῦν αὐτοῖς τόν οἶνον·*

It seems justifiable to change the wording of Ashburner's translation: "from whom claims are made by the treasury" to "responsible for taxes" in the following discussion.

22. Panchenko, *Krest'ianskaia sobstvennost'*, p. 19; Dölger, *Beiträge*, p. 133; and Ostrogorsky, "Die . . . Steuergemeinde," p. 25.

harvest it for three years.[23] This usufruct could be executed even in the presence of the owner, who had to tolerate this situation and who was allowed to take back the possession of his property only after the right of usufruct expired. This situation points to an arrangement of rights and duties in which the possessor of the land did not have to pay land taxes, while the owner, although not possessing his property, did have to pay taxes for it. The interdependence between land ownership and land tax duty is once again emphasized in Article 19 of the Νόμος Γεοργικός.[24] This article protected the rights of an absent owner who had paid all his due taxes, by providing that everyone who entered and harvested his land would have to pay the owner double the value of the crop.

Hence an analysis of Articles 17, 18 and 19 of the Νόμος Γεοργικός leads to the conclusion that an owner had to pay taxes for his land whether he possessed it or not. Only in case of his insolvency did the neighbor responsible of *ἀλληλέγγυον* have to take over the owner's tax duties; the neighbor then had the right of usufruct on the land for which he had paid taxes. On the other hand, any tenant *titulo usufructi* whose tenancy derived from any other sources than *ἀλληλέγγυον* did not have to pay taxes on the land he possessed. Article 18 in its second part denied the owner, if he happened to return to his property, any compensation for a crop harvested by the neighbor who paid his taxes. The corresponding article of the Νόμος Γεοργικός as it appears in the version of Harmenopulos does not include this provision. It denied, instead, the tax-responsible neighbor any claim against the owner, if the latter happened to return.[25] The two provisions are not contradictory but complementary; they point to the two trends of fiscal policy of the time which were stressed frequently in the Νόμος Γεοργικός; protection of an owner and protection of a taxpayer. Another right of a

23. "If a farmer enters and works another farmer's woodland for three years he shall take its profits for himself and then give the land back again to its owner":

ιζ ἐάν γεωργὸς εἰσελθὼν ἐργάσηται ἔνυνλον χώραν ἑτέρου γεῶργοῦ. τρία ἔτη ἐποκαρπεύσει ἑαυτῷ. καὶ ἀποδώσει πάλιν τὴν χώραν τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτῆς'

24. "If a farmer who runs away from his own field pays every year the extraordinary taxes of the public treasury, let those who gather in the grapes and occupy the field be mulcted twofold":

(24) *ιϑ ἐὰν γεωργὸς ἀποδράσας ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀγροῦ τελῇ κατ' ἔτος τὰ ἐκστραόρδινα τοῦ δημοσίου λόγου, οἱ τρυγῶντες καὶ νεμόμενοι τὸν ἀγρὸν ζημιούσϑωσαν ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι.*

The phrase "pull down . . . lawlessly" indicates that there existed also the possibility to "pull down lawfully" thus apparently, on the basis of some valid legal decision.

(25) *'Εὰν ἀπορήσας γεωργὸς πρὸς τὸ ἐργέζεσϑαι τὸν ἴδιον ἀγρὸν καὶ διαφύγῃ, οἱ τὰ δημόσια ἀπαιτούμενοι τρυγεί-τωσαν τὸν ἀγρόν, μὴ ἔχοντες ἄδειαν ἐπανερχομένου τοῦ γεωρ-γοῦ ζημιοῦν ἤ ζητεῖν αὐτόν τὸ οἱονοῦν.*

peasant cultivating somebody else's land was protected by provisions of Article 21 of the Νόμος Γεοργικός.

The Roman principle *superficies solo cedit* was fully accepted by Justinian: the owner of the land acquired the ownership of the building somebody else built, or of the crop somebody else planted on his land. The vulgar law departed from this principle, separating the right to own a building or crop from the right to own the land on which the building was built or the crop planted. The owner of *superficiei* was equally protected as was the owner of *soli*: both these rights were immutable.

The Byzantine law reflected in the Νόμος Γεοργικός accepted the principle of the vulgar law. According to Article 21, a peasant who built a building or planted a vineyard on someone else's land became the owner of the building and the vineyard.[26] But in the Byzantine law the right of the owner of *superficiei* was mutable. When the owner of the land claimed the possession of his property back, he was entitled to remove the *superficies* without any compensation. However the Byzantine law tended to protect the owner of *superficiei*. Article 21 commanded the owner of the land to accept another piece of land from the owner of the *superficies*. Only when this exchange could take place neither by contract nor by adjudgement (*ut infra*), Article 21 dictated a return to *status quo*.

The Νόμος Γεοργικός did not indicate directly whether the owner of the *superficies* had any claim to force the owner of the land into the exchange; yet the designation of the ownership of the *superficies* as a right was undoubtedly intended to provide the constructor of the *superficies* with a basis on which to establish legal protection of his property. In Article 66 of the Νόμος Γεοργικός, one can trace the existence of an authority (a judicial body or just a judge) intended to arbitrate litigation between the two owners.[27]

26. "If a farmer builds a house or plants a vineyard in another's field or plot and after a time there come the owners of the plot, they are not entitled to pull down the house or root up vines, but they may take an equivalent in land. If the man who built or planted on the field that was not his own stoutly refuses to give an equivalent, the owner of the plot is entitled to pull up the vines and pull down the house":

κα ἐὰν γεωργὸς οἰκοδομήσῃ οἶκον καὶ φυτεύσῃ ἀμπελῶνα ἐν ἀγρῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ ἢ τόπῳ, καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἔλθωσιν οἱ τοῦ τόπου κύριοι, οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἄδειαν τὸν οἶκον κατασπᾶν καὶ τὰς ἀμπέλους ἐκριζοῦν, ἀλλὰ λαμβάνειν ἀντιτοπίαν δύνανται· εἰ δὲ ἀνανεύων ανανεύει ὁ εἰς τὸν ἀλλότριον ἀγρόν κτίσας ἢ φυτεύσας μὴ δοῦναι ἀντιτοπίαν, ἄδειαν ἔχειν τὸν τοῦ τόπου κύριον νὰς ἀμπέλους ἀνασπᾶν, νὸν δὲ οἶκον κατασπᾶν.

27. "If people pull down others' houses lawlessly and spoil their fences on the ground that the others had fenced or built on their land, let them have their hand cut off":

ξς οἱ κατασπῶντες οἴκους ἀλλοτρίους ἀνάρχως ἢ ἀχρειοῦντες φραγμούς, ὡς εἰς τὰ ἴδια φράξαντες ἢ κτίσαντες, χειροκοπείσθωσαν.

The effort of a rural community to assure the tax solvency of its members is most evident in the institution of *ἐμισεια* (half-sharing), a particular kind of contract which aimed at helping a poor farmer to maintain his property. In Articles 11-15 the *Νόμος Γεοργικός* clearly specifies the circumstances under which this sort of contract may be entered.[28] The owner of the land had to be so poor that he had no means of cultivating his land. The farmer who entered such a contract with an impoverished farmer was to provide the landowner with whatever he lacked in order to produce a crop: manpower, tools and seed or any one of them. Thus the extent of the contractor's duties could vary considerably. But regardless of his investment his remuneration was constant: a half of the crop. Therefore, the poorer the owner was, the more the contracting farmer had to invest and the less he obtained from it. As the *Taxation Treatise* states[29] the partial land tax exemptions transferred the duty to pay taxes from an exempted owner either to his neighbors or to the whole community. Thus one can conclude that the contract of *ἐμίσεία* might take place under at least three types of circumstances: to prevent the bankruptcy of a poor farmer who still paid his taxes, to restore the solvency of a farmer whose taxes had been paid by his neighbors, or to improve the economic potential of a farmer or group of farmers whose taxes had been paid by the community. The institution of half-sharing points most distinctly to the social response of a rural community to its collective problems arising from the interdependence between the economic status of any one member of the community and the economic status of the community as a whole.

A farmer also could enter a contract to cultivate somebody else's land for a fixed price (Article 16). However, the *Νόμος Γεοργικός* assumed, apparently, that the fixed price might decrease the contractor's interest in the quality of the crop he produced. Thus Article 16 contained a special provision to protect the owner: in case of negligence the contractor had to pay the owner a compensation equal to the value of the land.[30] The *Νόμος Γεοργικός* gives no evidence as to the economic status of the contracting farmers. Nevertheless, the provision for the penalty in Article 16 seems to

28. The institution of "half-sharing" was commented by Zachariä, pp. 225-26; Panchenko, p. 42; and Ashburner, v. 32, pp. 79-83.

29. See above pp. (8-9 of text).

30. "If a farmer takes over the farming of a vineyard or piece of land and agrees with the owner and takes earnest-money and starts and then draws back and gives it up, let him give the just value of the field and let the owner have the field":

> *ις ἐὰν γεωργὸς ἐκλαβόμενος γεωργίαν ἀμπελῶνος ἢ χώρας στοιχήσας μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρραβῶνα λαβὼν ἀπάρξηται, καὶ διαστρέφας ἀφήσῃ αὐτόν, τὴν τιμὴν τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ ἀγροῦ δότω καὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐχέτω ὁ κύοιος αὐτνῦ.*

provide a basis for speculating that the owner of the land was generally poorer than the contractor. Otherwise, such a provision for compensation would not be realistic. Moreover, since Article 16 follows immediately the provisions for the contract of half-sharing, it may belong to the same set of innovations stemming from the collective responsibility of a rural community for the obligations of its members.

Subsequent Historical Developments.[31]

The Heraclians had, indeed, laid a strong base for the successful functioning of the tax system. The policy of colonization and of military settlement had revitalized the vast territories devastated by wars and plagues during the last decades of the sixth century. This effort culminated during the reign of Justinian II, who transferred large numbers of Slavs from conquerred territories to the interior parts of the empire. The period of the Heraclian dynasty was marked by an unprecedented boom for the Byzantine free farmer class.

After the death of Justinian II, the empire went through the shock of iconoclasm and a series of civil and external wars (with the Arabs and the Bulgars), lasting until the middle of the ninth century. However, the Heraclian policies were carried on during that period of time. Leo III (717-41) and Constantine V (741-75) concentrated mainly on the administration of themes. Nikephoros I (802-11), the strongest ruler of the epoch confiscated and colonized a part of Church *latifundia*, continued to increase the army along with establishing new themes on the conquered territories, populating the frontier areas of the state and strenghtening the discipline of the tax administration. These measures, however, could not prevent the progressing decrease of the small landowner class which resulted from the wars. This process was further aggravated by the economic effects of the Thomas the Slav's rebellion (821-23), combined with indolency of Nikephoros I's successors. "The civil war ruined numberless small farmers who in prosperous times could barely pay their way, and the fiscal burdens rendered it impossible for them to recuperate their fortunes unless they were aided by the state. But it was easier and more conductive to the immediate profit of the treasury to allow these insolvent lands to pass into the possession of rich neighbors."[32]

The period of prosperity in the empire beginning in the 850s brought

31. Based on J. B. Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (A.D. 802-867)* (New York: Franklin, 1965); Ostrogorsky, *History*, cc. II-V; and A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324-1453*, 2 vols. (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1958), I, 330-51.

32. Bury, p. 110.

about the increasing influence of the potentates and restoration of their political and economic power. Leo VI the Wise (886-912) not only entrusted all the top positions in the military and civil administration to members of the aristocratic families; he also abolished the institution of preemption, the main legal means of preventing the potentates from absorbing the small owners' land.[33] Consequently, the large *latifundia* began to grow rapidly at the expense of small property, undercutting the whole socio-economic structure of the empire. Only Romanos I Lecapenus (920-44) understood the dangerous implications of these developments, stating: "The small holding is of great benefit by reason of the payment of the state taxes and the duty of military service; this advantage would be completely lost if the number of small-holders were to be diminished."[34]

In his *Novel* of 922, Romanos I reinstituted preemption and proclaimed all transactions concerning land between small owners and the potentates to be illegal. Any acquisition by a big owner was punished by a fine and the previous owner could claim back the land without any compensation. Such a claim expired after ten years, if the owner happened to be a peasant, and after thirty years if he was a soldier. The right to claim was extended to the owner's heirs, relatives and other persons responsible ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης or for military duties related to the land.[35]

The political successes of Romanos I put an end to the invasions of the Bulgars and of other Slavic peoples, devastating the rural population of the southeastern parts of the empire, and assured favorable conditions for implementing his reforms. But the period of famine and pestilence which followed the severe winter of 927-28 hindered any success these provisions might have had. Starving farmers were forced to sell their land just to survive.

Romanos Lecapenus, calling the potentates an inner enemy of the state "worse than the famine and the plague," condemned their policies in his next *Novel*. In this *Novel* the emperor confirmed the validity of all the pro-

33. By this time the provisions of preemption were evaded by abuse of *antichresis*. The short-term loans guaranteed by *antichresis* usually lead to transfer of ownership of the mortgaged farmers' lands to the creditors. The potentates increased their properties considerably in this way. Article 67 of the Νόμος Γεοργικός limits the advantages of the creditors by introducing provisions favorable for the borrowing farmers (see Malafosse, pp. 51-54):

> *ξζ οἱ τόκου χάριν λαβόντες ἀγρὸν καὶ πλείω τῶν ἑπτὰ χρόνων φανῶσι καρπιζόμενοι, Ψηφισάτω ὁ ἀκροατὴς ἑπταετίας καὶ τὴν ἄνω πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν κάτω τὴν ἡμίσειαν εἰσφορὰν στοιχησάτω εἰς κεφάλαιον.*

34. J. and P. Zepos, *Jus graeco-romanum*, 8 vols. (Athenai, 1931), I, 209; Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 241-42; Zachariä von Lingenthal, pp. 236-48: and J. A. B. Montreuil, *Histoire du droit byzantin ou du droit romain dans l'Empire d'Orient, depuis la mort de Justinien jusqu'a la prise de Constantinople en 1453*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1843-46), II, 330-34.

35. Zepos, I, 198 ff.

visions of 922 and added new ones concerning the land acquired by the potentates from the small owners during the famine. Such land was to be returned without compensation if acquired fraudulently; however, if a δυνατός paid a just price for it, the previous owner had to pay back the money while claiming back his land. The right to claim was unlimited in time in the former case but expired after three years in the latter one.[36]

In 947, Constantine VII (913-57) extended the farmers' right of preemption in purchasing the potentates' land as well. He also settled the problem of soldier land, defining the minimum value of a soldier's property and prohibiting its sale or division among heirs.[37] Nikephoros Phokas (963-69) tried to stop the expansion of ecclesiastical property, equally dangerous to the existence of the small owner class, by prohibiting donations of land to the church and the founding of new monasteries. He also trebbled the value of soldiers' property, which could not be alienated. However, an aristocrat himself, Nikephoros Phokas eased to some degree the situation of big property by abolishing the small owners' right of preemption in purchasing the potentates' land.[38]

The last and strongest blow against big property came from Basil II (976-1025). In his *Novel* of 966, Basil II restored the right of claim relating to all small property sold to the potentates after 922. Moreover, he charged the potentates with the responsibility of ἀλληλέγγυον for their neighboring farmers if he latter were insolvent, and he also limited the growth of church property.[39] These measures improved the economic situation of the empire in two ways: they assured tax income and prevented the further depopulation of farm land.

The death of Basil II brought the whole epoch in the socio-economic history of Byzantium to a close. When Romanos Argyros (1028-34) abolished the responsibility of the potentates in regard to the farmers' land taxes, the result of the long struggle between the throne and big property over the farm land was easy to foretell. In their selfish economic policies, the potentates had gained a powerful ally: the farmers themselves. Ruined by three

36. *Ibid.*, I, 205 ff.: Montreuil, II, 330-34; *Novels 1-3;*; and G. Ostrogorsky, "The Peasant's Pre-emption Right," *Journal of Roman Studies,* 37 (1947), 117 ff., gives an account of ways in which Byzantine officials evaded the law in land transactions. See N. Svoronos, "Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siécles," in *Etudes sur l'organisation intérieure la société et l'économie de l'Empire byzantin* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1973), pp. 348-50.

37. N. Svoronos, "Les privileges l'Eglise a l'époque des Comnenes: rescrit inédit de Manuel Comnène," *ibid.*; Lemerle, 219 (1958), 256, and 220 (1958), 74; Zepos, I, 214, 222, and 240-43; Montreuil, II, 336-41 (Nov. 1, 2: farmer land; Nov. 3: soldier land).

38. Zepos, I, 249 ff.; and Montreuil, II, 353-56 (Nov. 2, 5: farmer land; Nov. 1, 6 soldier land).

39. Zepos, I, 262 ff.; and Montreuil, II, 357-60.

centuries of the repetitive invasions of the Arabs, the Slavs and the Bulgars, by internal turmoils, natural disasters and constantly growing tax burdens, the free farmers had no chance to maintain their social status. Giving up their land and their families to large landlords became their only hope for survival.[40]

Conclusion

From the above analysis one can conclude that the Heraclian land tax system imposed tremendous hardships on the small landowners and became one of the main causes of the decay of that social class in the eleventh century. The system itself contained the seeds of its own destruction; it was a shortsighted assumption on the part of its creator that all his successors on the imperial throne would be wise enough and strong enough to carry on his policies of balancing the interests of the potentates against the interests of the state economy. The erosion of the free farmer class, which had already begun during the Isaurian dynasty, was accelerated not only by war devastations but also by the economic policies of the potentates and the indolence of the ninth century emperors. The strains which the land tax system put upon the decreasing rural population were not mitigated by any action on the part of the throne. The politics of these rulers led to the total distortion of Heraclian socio-economic ideas regarding the small landowners. For the Heracleans the broad, healthy, well-to-do farmer class represented the mainstay of the empire's existence. For their successors this same class gradually became an object of unprecedented economic abuse. For over a century no emperor attempted to adjust the tax system to the existing economic situation, nor to adjust the economic situation to the tax system. The efforts of Romanos I and Basil II came too late to stop the process which "prepared [the empire] for the reception of a new race of inhabitants."[41]

The rural community responded to the Heraclian land tax reform, by elaborating the adjustive legal norms presented in the Νόμος Γεοργικός. This response, however beneficial it might have been in the short period of peasant class prosperity, was not sufficient when this class became a con-

40. The deterioration of the rural demographic conditions and its impact upon the farmers' tax duties are reflected in the last (Harmenopulus's) version of the Νόμος Γεοργικός. The version does not include any equivalent of Article 19, hence one can assume that no absent farmer did pay his taxes anymore. Instead, the last version includes a new provision in Article I. 14: "If a farmer does not pay for his neighbor's abandoned land, he is punished by a fee equal to double the amount of the due taxes":

'Εὰν γεωργὸς ἀποδράσῃ ἐκ τοῦ, τελείτωσαν κατ'
ἔτος ἐκτραόρδινα τοῦ δημοσίου λόγῳ οἱ τρυγῶντες καὶ νεμόμενοι
τὸν ἀγρόν· εἰ δὲ μή, ζημιούσθωσαν ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι.

41. Bury, *loc. cit.* quotes G. Finlay, *History of Greece, B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864*, ed. H. F. Tozer, 7 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1877), II, 133.

tinuous *casus belli* between the throne and the potentates for the exclusive right to exploit it. Although a farmer as a land owner had certain rights under Byzantine law, this protection had no effect against the abuses of the state and the potentates. Furthermore, the minimal protection given the farmer came entirely at the expense of other farmers, usually the poorest ones, whom the Byzantine property law did not provide with any kind of legal recourse.

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*Synesius of Cyrene: A Study of the Role of the Bishop in Temporal Affairs**

It is a well-known fact that in the transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages bishops came to assume a large measure of responsibility in temporal affairs. In a sense this trend began with Constantine, for his conversion and favor elevated the Church to a quite unprecedented position in society. Constantine, however, retained tight control over the ecclesiastical structure, so that only with the decline of the central government could bishops effectively assert temporal authority.

The origins of this evolution, as is the case with many historical movements, are obscure. Writers of the late empire could hardly be expected to foresee the ramifications of a phenomenon that was only in its inchoate stages. Undoubtedly it was at least partially caused by the breakdown of classical institutions. Brown regarded this as the primary cause for the rise of the holy man in the society of late antiquity in Syria and elsewhere in the East.[1] A careful study of this process in the earliest stage, then, may be helpful in understanding it when it became more fully developed and an obvious feature of society.

The episcopacy of Synesius, bishop of the town of Ptolemais in Libya, is in many ways a desirable model for such a study. Synesius was bishop in the early years of the fifth century when the authority of the central government was deteriorating. It is true that Synesius lived in the East where the decay was definitely not as pronounced as it was in the West. But, as Synesius' letters reveal, Libya at least was torn by barbarian incursions and incompetent government so that its situation more nearly parallels that of the West than that of the East as a whole. Ptolemais, moreover, provides the opportunity for studying this transition in a small provincial town on the fringes of the empire rather than in a more urbanized or patriarchal see where conditions would obviously be different. Finally a rather large amount of historical material is available. One hundred and fifty-six letters written by Synesius to many persons on a wide range of subjects reflect his person-

*This article is a revision of a paper presented at the Briarcliff Conference of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies on 19 December 1976.

1. P. Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 61 (1971), 100.

ality and the condition of Libya during his lifetime.

There are two aspects to Synesius' episcopacy which can serve to unify such a study: the attitude of the people to Synesius and the role of the bishop; and the manner in which Synesius conceived of his own function as a bishop. The first aspect is closely connected with the way in which Synesius came to be a bishop, the second with his actions once he held office. This essay will examine each aspect in turn.

Perhaps the most difficult problem in the life of Synesius centers around the circumstances in which he became a bishop. The people of Ptolemais forced him to accept the episcopacy, much against his will. In a letter to the elders of the Church he writes: "I was unable for all my strength to prevail against you and decline the bishopric, and this in spite of all my machinations; nor is it to your will that I have now yielded. Rather was it a divine force which brought about the delay then, as it has caused my acceptance now."[2] Only after six months of hesitation did Synesius yield,[3] and even then he repeated frequently on later occasions that he was unfit for the task.[4]

What is far more astonishing, however, is the nature of the conditions Synesius set down as a prerequisite for his acceptance. Synesius would not separate himself from his wife and insisted on remaining in the conjugal state while a bishop.[5] Synesius, the pupil of Hypatia, went on to assert that he would in no way compromise his Neo-Platonic philosophy, especially on the subject of the Resurrection: "This resurrection, which is an object of common belief, is nothing for me but a sacred and mysterious allegory, and I am far from sharing the views of the vulgar crowd thereon. . . . Divine truth should remain hidden, but the vulgar need a different system. . . . If I am called to the priesthood, I declare before God and man that I refuse to preach dogmas in which I do not believe."[6]

Synesius' marriage was less of an obstacle, for married men were occasion-

2. *Ep.* 11 (112) [96]. Throughout this paper the traditional numbering of the letters (as found in the manuscripts and Migne) appears first. Druon's chronological listing of the letters is given in parentheses. Translations are from A. Fitzgerald, *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene*, (London: Oxford Univ. Press, H. Milford, 1926). References to Fitzgerald's work are given in brackets.

3. *Ep.* 96 (111) [184].

4. *Ep.* 13 (136) [98], for example: "The city ought thus to understand the imprudence it committed toward me in appointing one to the priesthood who had not sufficient confidence in his mission to enable him to go to God and pray on behalf of the whole people, but one who has need of the prayers of the people for his own salvation."

5. *Ep.* 105 (110) [199]: "I therefore proclaim to all and call to witness once for all that I will not be separated from her. . . . I shall desire and pray to have many virtuous children."

6. *Ep.* 105 (110) [196-202].

ally made bishops. But his attitude toward orthodox doctrines is so remarkable that it has been seriously doubted whether Synesius was a Christian at all at the time of his election. Although much has been written on this subject, the evidence is insufficient to reach any certain conclusions.[7] On balance, it seems that he was not. It is quite clear that he was raised as a pagan.[8] He had studied under Hypatia at Alexandria where he became deeply imbued with Neo-Platonic philosophy. Synesius retained his affection for Hypatia and his interest in Neo-Platonism all his life. He was on intimate terms with Proclus, Troilus, Paeonius, and other Neo-Platonic philosophers. Both Evagrius and Photius explicitly declare that he was a pagan and did not receive baptism until his election.[9]

Even if Synesius was a Christain, it is surprising that the people should choose a man of such unorthodox views, expecially when he was so reluctant. Yet they did want him and were willing to wait sex months for him to accept. Ptolemais must have wanted Synesius badly to overlook such circumstances. Quite clearly Synesius was not selected for spiritual guidance. Why then did the city choose someone like Synesius? To understand how a situation like this could come about, it will be necessary to examine Synesius' previous life and the state of Libya at this time.

Synesius possessed a large and productive estate south of the seacoast. His economic position made him a prominent *curialis* and a member of the provincial council.[10] Synesius' cosmopolitan education fitted him for a role of leadership in the community, but his philosophical disposition was more inclined to other pursuits: "This leisure [for philosophy] I shall enjoy when I succeed in freeing myself from entanglement in the political life of the Romans; and that will be when I am released from these accursed curial functions."[11] But his culture, his wealth, and his rank in society were bound to place him in an important position in the turbulent years to come.

7. W. S. Crawford, *Synesius the Hellene* (London: Rivingtons, 1901), pp. 35-37 has summarized scholarly opinion on both sides since the Renaissance. He points out that the main argument presented by those in favor of Synesius' Christianity is the difficulty they have in believing that it could be otherwise.

8. *Ep.* 66 (122) [148].

9. Evagrius *HE* 1.15: *Πείθουσι δ' οὖν αὐτὸν τῆς σωτηριώδους παλιγγενεσίας ἀξιωθῆναι, καὶ τὸν ζυγὸν τῆς ἱερωσύνης ὑπελθεῖν, οὔπω τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀναστάσεως παραδεχόμενον, οὐδὲ δοξάζειν ἐθέλοντα.* Photius *Bibl.* 26: *Ἦν δ" οὗτος ἐξ Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφίᾳ σχολάζων. Ὅν φασι πρὸς τὸν θειασμὸν τοῦ Χριστιανασμοῦ νεύσαντα, τὰ μεν ἄλλα παραδέχεσθαι εὐπειθῶς. τὸν δὲ περὶ ἀναστάσεως . . . οὐκ ἐθέλειν προσίεσθαι λόγον. ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ οὕτω διακείμενον ἐμύησάν τε τὰ ἡμετερα, καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἀρχιερωσύνης ἠξίωσαν.* Photius notes that at the time of his election he was becoming disposed (*νεύσαντα*) to Christianity.

10. Synesius' accomplishments as a *curialis* are discussed by C. H. Coster, "Synesius, A *Curialis* of the Time of the Emperor Arcadius," *Byzantion*, 15 (1940), 10-38.

11. *Ep.* 100 (30) [187].

Synesius was appointed by Cyrene as a special envoy to represent to Arcadius the condition of the province.[12] The brutal frankness of his speech to Arcadius is in very striking contrast to the fulsome speeches of adulation so customary at the court. The speech reproaches the emperor for separating himself behind a wall of court ceremonial instead of leading his armies into battle as emperors used to do. The reliance on parasitic barbarian troops is also attacked. The unparalleled boldness of the *De Regno* has led some to think that Synesius wrote the speech we now have later and that the original address was much milder in tone. But Synesius elsewhere declares that he used "a freedom of speech unexampled among the Greeks" in his appearance before the emperor,[13] so the *De Regno* was probably actually delivered.

Synesius spent three years in Constantinople. It was probably during this period that he made the friendships which were to be so valuable to him later. Although he does not seem to have known the regent Anthemius personally, his later letters make it clear that he was on intimate terms with the praetorian prefect Aurelian, who was consul in 400, Troilus, Theotimus, Nicander, and other influential persons in the government. These friendships, especially with Troilus, the closest adviser of Anthemius,[14] were later to be of great help to him. In addition Synesius was on the best of terms with Pentadius, the *praefectus Augustalis* of Egypt, to whom the *praeses* of the Pentapolis was accountable.[15]

Synesius returned to Libya in 402.[16] Since 395 that area had been raided sporadically by barbarians from the south whom Synesius refers to as Ausurians.[17] In the years 405-06 their incursions reached menacing proportions. The attacks of these barbarians, who were probably relatively few in number, were so successful largely because of the incompetent government and poor military leadership to which Libya was unfortunately subjected. Synesius complains bitterly about the quality of the soldiers who were supposed to be defending Libya. Soldiers bought exemption from service or retired to remote areas when an invasion was imminent.[18] Their commanders were little better:

12. *De Regno* 2: Ἐμέ σοι πέμπει Κυρήνη. Cf. also Petau's critical note on this passage in *Patrologia Graeca* LXVI, 1055, no.6.
13. *De Insomniis* 9.
14. *Epp.* 29-30 (61-62) [105-06]. For a discussion of Synesius' political acquaintances in Constantinople, cf. G. Grützmacher, *Synesios von Kyrene, ein Charakterbild aus dem Untergang des Hellentums* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1913), pp. 61-65.
15. Socrates 7.1.26.
16. Marcellinus com. *sub a.* 402 mentions an earthquake in Constantinople. Since Synesius says (*Ep.* 61) that he left the city shortly after an earthquake, the year 402 probably marks the date of his departure.
17. Philostorgius 11.8. Philostorgius calls them Auxorians (Ἀυξωριανοί), but there is no doubt the same group is meant.
18. *Epp.* 130 (75) [219-21], 122 (87) [212-13].

"The cowardice of our generals has delivered up our country to the enemy without a single battle."[19] The administration of the governor Cerealis was marked by corruption and cowardice. Cities were blackmailed by the threat of billeting soldiers there—a fate that could be as disastrous as a sack by the barbarians.[20] When Cyrene was besieged by the Ausurians, Cerealis retired to a ship in the harbor from which he sent commands by messengers and which afforded him a safe exit should the worse come to the worst.[21] Such behaviour hardly inspired confidence in the defenders.

Under such chaotic conditions it is scarcely surprising that the Ausurians were quite successful. Snyesius' jeremiads, even if exaggerated, present the picture of a region on the point of collapse: "I am encompassed by the sufferings of my city and disgusted with her, for I daily see the enemy forces, and men slaughtered like victims on the altar."[22] And under such circumstances it is also not surprising that the desperate inhabitants turned elsewhere for leadership.

Since the government was so ineffective, Synesius and many like him undertook the resistance to the enemy. He began manufacturing iron weapons even though he was fully aware that this was illegal.[23] To judge from a letter to his brother, Synesius had gathered a considerable stockpile of weapons.[24] The history of this border warfare, of course, is obscure; but apparently Synesius' talent gave him a position of leadership. He so indicates in one of his letters: "I myself enrolled companies and officers with the resources I had at my disposal. I am collecting a very considerable body at Asusamas also, and I have given the Dioestae word to meet me at Cleopatra. Once we are on the march, and when it is announced that a young army has collected round me, I hope that many more will join us of their own free will. They will come from every side, the best men to associate themselves with our glorious undertaking, and the worthless to get booty."[25] Synesius himself was not happy with this role, but necessity forced it upon him. His success against the Ausurians made him a natural leader: "Now friends of mine, soldiers and civilians alike, who suffer injustice, are forcing me to pretend to power in the city, a thing for which I know myself to be unqualified by nature. They know this as well as I do, but for their own sakes they are forcing me to take some actions, however

19. *Ep.* 133 (73) [225-26].
20. *Ep.* 130 (75) [219-21].
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ep.* 124 (24) [*214*]. This letter was written to Hypatia and describes to her the pitiable conditions in Libya.
23. *Ep.* 107 (86) [203].
24. *Ep.* 108 (85) [203-4].
25. *Ep.* 125 (72) [215].

unwillingly."[26] Thus, on the eve of his election to the episcopacy in 410, Synesius had gained a wide reputation for his military ability and talent for leadership.

In considering the reasons for Synesius' elevation to the episcopacy, his previous career must be taken into account. Although direct evidence is lacking, for the motives of the people in electing him are nowhere stated, there is every reason to believe that his leadership in temporal affairs was the reason. Synesius was a well-educated and cultured *curialis.* He was known to have made influential contacts in Constantinople and Alexandria that could only be beneficial to his troubled land. His speech to Arcadius marked him as an original thinker and a forceful orator. Finally, he had assumed direction of the war against the barbarians when a weak and venal government had shown itself impotent.

It is hard to see any other motive which could have induced the people to elect a man who may not have even been a Christian and who certainly made no secret of the fact that his views on key dogmas were quite at variance with the popular conception of them. However Synesius saw his office, the people saw the bishop as a position of temporal authority that would balance the authority of tyrannical officials and that could serve as a rallying point against the barbarians.

Evidence for this view of the episcopacy is found in a letter Synesius later wrote as a bishop.[27] The letter, written to Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, explains to him a dispute in Palaebisca, a village on the frontier of Libya. The people had deposed their bishop Orion, a pious but elderly man, and replaced him with a young and energetic man, Siderius, who had served in the army under Valens. Orion's old age had been "a reproach in the eyes of those who consider that the priesthood should be a champion of men's affairs, and versatile in its functions."[28] Since the election was clearly uncanonical, Synesius had journeyed to the village to correct the wrong. But he was so strongly moved by the emotional appeals of the people that he wrote to Theophilus to ask him to allow the election to stand. He said that it might be better to overlook the irregularity since extreme necessity had compelled the people to take the step.

The people of Libya quite obviously had come to look upon the episcopacy as a political as well as a religious office. Synesius was elected because he could protect them from barbarian attacks and bureaucratic abuses. Later events were to show that the Libyans were not mistaken in their choice.

26. *Ep.* 144 (50) [239].
27. *Ep.* 67 (123) [149-60].
28. *Ibid.*

To judge from the extant letters written after Synesius became bishop, his time was divided between dealing with barbarian incursions and evil governors, with little time for his philosophical pursuits or spiritual duties. The nomadic Ausurians continued their raids throughout the remaining years of Synesius' life. Synesius' correspondence is not sufficiently informative to allow us to follow the progress of this warfare. Apparently the tide went back and forth during these confusing years. At times Synesius seemed on the verge of despair: "All is lost, all is destroyed. At the moment of writing, there is nothing left but the cities, nothing."[29] At other times he was almost jubilant, as in his oration congratulating Anysius and the mercenary Unnigardae on a smashing victory over the barbarians.[30]

But whatever the course of the war, it is quite clear that Synesius played a significant role in it. Notwithstanding his episcopal dignity, he was often in the midst of the fighting: "I long to give my eyes a sleep uninterrupted by the sound of the trumpet. How much longer shall I stand upon the ramparts, how much longer shall I guard the intervals between the turrets."[31] Synesius complains that this military service was practically required of him as if it were one of his duties: "I live, not as a private citizen, in a country which is prey to war, and I am bound continually to condole with everyone's misfortunes. Often in a month I have to rush to the ramparts, as if I received a stipend to take part in military service rather than to pray."[32]

The distress of the war caused Synesius to abandon some of his cherished concepts. Although he had bitterly attacked the use of barbarian mercenaries in the *De Regno,* he had only the highest praise for the Unnigardae.[33] It is a credit to Synesius' flexibility that he was not intransigent in the face of the obvious advantage derived from using Huns. It is not known what success Synesius had in his struggles with the Ausurians. But he did labor energetically, writing to Theophilus for aid and directing the fighting.[34] Quite probably the barbarians continued to remain a menace but did not succeed in overrunning the cities and forts.

Although the struggle with the barbarians indicated the role a bishop was expected to play, the power of the bishop is much more strikingly illustrated by Synesius' dramatic confrontation with the civil authority. Public office seems to have been a recognized means of financial exploitation at this time.

29. *Ep.* 69 (147) [160].
30. *Catastasis* 1.
31. *Catastasis* 2.
32. *Ep.* 89 (146) [177].
33. The Unnigardae are probably the Hunugari, a Hunnic tribe on the Danube, mentioned by Jordanes *Get.* 5. Cf. C. Lacombrade, *Synésios de Cyrène, hellène et chrétien* (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1951), p. 106.
34. *Ep.* 69 (147) [160].

Cerealis was by no means the only example, for Synesius in praising an atypically honest official remarks, "Marcellinus did not claim any of those profits which usage has made to appear lawful."[35] But Andronicus, the new governor, was so extraordinarily rapacious that he put even Ceralis in the shade.

Synesius seems to have had a forewarning of Andronicus' reputation because he wrote to Troilus requesting his intervention with Anthemius for the removal of Andronicus.[36] He noted that the appointment of Libyan (Andronicus was from Berenice) to an office in Libya was illegal and hoped "that it may not come to pass in the time of the great Anthemius that Roman rule shall perish from the midst of the province.[37]

Synesius' fears, however, were fulfilled.[38] Extortion was practiced on an unprecedented scale with dire punishment, including torture, awaiting those who could not or would not pay up. Synesius finally excommunicated him for violating the sanctuary to arrest one of his victims and then refusing to release the prisoner despite Synesius' remonstrances.

Synesius' excommunication took the form of a lengthy oration, *Against Andronicus.*[39] This oration was actually a sermon which Synesius delivered to his congregation. It is included among the letters simply because this is the arrangement found in the manuscripts.[40] This oration is of interest because it reveals Synesius' concept of the episcopacy. After reviewing the terrible evils to which Andronicus has subjected Libya, Synesius then makes it clear that he is *not* excommunicating Andronicus for any of these offenses. The sole reason for the excommunication is an ecclesiastical offense–violation of the sanctuary.

It is too much to say that Synesius advocated a separation of church and state, but he certainly saw the importance of keeping the two functions distinct: "The past ages made the same men priest and judges. The Egyptian and Hebrew nations were for long ruled over by their priests. Then, later it seems to me, when the divine work was executed in a humane spirit, God separated the two ways of life. One of these was appointed to the priestly, the other to the governing order."[41] For Synesius temporal and spiritual power have been separated and should not be united. He goes on to say that he cannot exercise both powers: "Do you need a protector? Walk to the

35. *Ep.* 62 (155) [146].
36. *Ep.* 73 (109) [163-65].
37. *Ibid.*
38. Emilienne Demougeot, *De l'unité à la division de l'Empire romain, 395-410, essai sur le gouvernement impérial* (Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1951), p. 342, aptly remarks: "Les lettres de Synésios ont fait de lui un sorte de Verres."
39. *Ep.* 57 (98) [127-40].
40. Fitzgerald, p. 127.
41. *Ibid.* [136].

administrator of the laws of the state. Do you want anything of God? Go to the priest of the city. . . . Power to serve two masters is not in me."[42] Consequently Synesius feels he cannot excommunicate Andronicus for his criminal actions. Andronicus is being excommunicated only for violating the laws of the Church.

Synesius' view of episcopal authority is all the more remarkable when contrasted with the attitude of the people who had elected him. Synesius mentions in his address that many had expected an excommunication long before this for Andronicus' crimes. To these Synesius replies that he waited for the opportunity of an ecclesiastical offense because "I have waited to make you convinced with me, by the logic of facts, that to join together political ability with the priesthood is to combine the uncombinable."[43] This is a strong statement on the limitation of episcopal power and is certainly quite at variance with the general opinion of Synesius' contemporaries. As this essay has already shown, Synesius' fellow citizens elected him because of his demonstrated political ability. As Synesius' address indicates, they expected him to assert political authority against Andronicus. But Synesius is disturbed by this view and points out that he does not share it. He saw the episcopate as a spiritual office, they looked upon it as a temporal office.

Synesius followed up his address with a letter to other bishops telling them to treat Andronicus as an outcast.[44] Andronicus gave some signs of repentance so that Synesius was prevailed upon, quite reluctantly, to lift the ban.[45] Synesius' suspicions were fully justified: Andronicus shortly thereafter murdered a certain Magnus after the latter had refused to pay a sum of gold demanded of him. The excommunication was renewed—this time permanently.[46]

The incident has an interesting epilogue. The excommunication seems to have brought about the punishment of Andronicus by the government. Synesius had compassion on Andronicus and requested Theophilus to try to mitigate the penalty: "In the past Andronicus did injustice, but now he in turn is treated with injustice. Nevertheless it is the character of the Church to exalt the humble and humble the proud. The Church detested this man Andronicus on account of his actions, wherefore she pressed for this result, but now she pities him for that experiences have exceeded the measure of her malediction."[47] The contest had thus ended in a complete triumph for

42. *Ibid*- [137].
43. *Ibid*- [136].
44. *Ep*. 58 (99) [140-43].
45. *Ep*. 72 (129) [161-63]. "But it is presumptuous to attempt to resist, when you are alone against many a younger man against elder men, one who had not taken office a year ago against those whose lives have been spent in the priesthood." [162].
46. *Ibid*.
47. *Ep*. 90 (132) [177].

Synesius and shows the far-reaching political effects that a spiritual weapon like excommunication could have.

The entire episode reveals how far Synesius' opinion of the role of the bishop differed from that of his fellow citizens. They were only too eager to see the bishop wield his authority against temporal rulers. When one considers the type of government to which they were exposed, they can hardly be blamed for this disposition. Synesius, however, was aware of the limitations and possible abuses of his office and tried to prevent exercises of power that might set a precedent that could lead to unforeseen complications in the future.

In a sense too, the incident summarizes Synesius' entire career. Synesius did not want to be bishop or lead the defense against the barbarians or champion the rights of the people against Andronicus. But Synesius was moving against the times. Faced with chaos by a grasping and impotent government, the people naturally turned to the bishop as their protector. They elected Synesius because of his proven ability for leadership. They relied on him to supervise their defense against the Ausurians. Finally, they expected him to "combine the uncombinable" by "joining together political ability with the priesthood" against Andronicus. He did not do this, however, but waited for the proper moment when he could legitimiately exercise his episcopal authority. Ptolemais wanted a temporal leader for its bishop. Paradoxically, it elected a man who was reluctant to play the part. But Synesius' dignified and courageous leadership as bishop showed that Ptolemais had nevertheless made a wise choice.

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Medieval European Society as Seen in Two Eleventh-Century Texts of Michael Psellos

[PART III]

General Summary and Conclusions

It has been seen in the above study and translation of the two eleventh-century compositions of Michael Psellos that they not only tell us much about the upper classes of Constantinople, but they also reflect the author's character and his outlook. In this section, the above details are brought together (along with other relevant information from other works of Psellos) in an attempt to see the man and his work from a *vue d'ensemble*. Thus, within the limits of this present study, Psellos' home and family are considered and his interest in and contributions to a number of domains and disciplines (including medicine, law, philosophy, rhetoric, language and literature). Finally, I shall reflect upon the upper class society as described in the above two and other texts of Michael Psellos, and evaluate his attitudes toward the social environment of eleventh-century Constantinople.

A. *Family Life of the Upper Classes in Eleventh-Century Constantinople*

The first composition examined above revealed Michael Psellos in the role of a parent concerned with the upbringing, development and education of his only child Styliani, and participating at the same time in a number of family and social situations.[1] In the descriptions of his daughter, of her harmonious character, attractiveness and virtues, Psellos appears happy and proud of her good fortune, good looks, intellectual abilities, devotion to learning, modesty and goodness of heart, but also for the love she had for her parents. Furthermore there was, he noted, Styliani's deep devotion to religion, the church and

1. We have no information about Michael Psellos' marriage. We know neither his wife's name nor his relationship with her. The notations in text I and Sathas are interesting, but hypothetical.

her sense of Christian charity.

While the funeral oration is a rich source of information about family life and of the upper classes in eleventh-century Constantinople, the text raises at the same time a number of questions about the author.[2] Well known in his own time and the later Middle Ages as one of the most prominent intellectual leaders (and also as a scholar and statesman), he is seen in the first text as a family man and parent. At the same time, he seems discontented with that highly stratified society of which he was a part, where links with the nobility *counted* and were much sought after.

His writings and activities show Michael Psellos trying not only to survive against all kinds of opposition, but attempting to protect and to justify his preoccupations with philosophy and Hellenism, and also seeking to cultivate and to transmit his Platonic and cultural interests to his students, friends and others. At the same time he was disturbed by a number of existing social and other conditions in his environment some of which are reflected in the two above texts and·in his other compositions, and he sought to improve them. It has been noted that in the first oration Psellos was shattered by a family tragedy, as he laments: ". . . nothing is more calamitous than the loss of a child"; which happening may be related to the comment made in *Chronographia* VI. 196 ´7: ". . . I was heartbroken by a terrible disaster. . . ."

As a result of these experiences, Psellos at some later date and possibly far from Constantinople composed the above work, a lament, for "a daughter lost." In that effort he actually constructed a representation of an idealized Byzantine maiden, for while the initial subject and inspiration were the personality and virtues of Styliani, Michael Psellos apparently went beyond them in his composition and created an image, weaving these with Classical Greek, biblical and other influences, but creating a work that remained in withdrawn to the monastery, ca. 1054, then a number of oppressive and complex thoughts must have passed through his mind.
sive and complex thoughts must have passed through his mind.

A correlation of historical events along with details appearing in the funeral oration and in his other works suggests that the sorrowful incidents and the tragic loss of young Styliani may have taken place between 1053 and early in 1054. Thereafter, it appears that Psellos following her death returned briefly to his post in the imperial court, but found conditions greatly changed, for in his absence ". . . slanderers and sycophants . . ." *(Chronographia* VI. 191) had succeeded in taking his place in the emperor's favor. These conditions and the ". . . fickleness of the Emperor" convinced

2. Among them are: Was Michael Psellos married? If so, where and when? Did he and his wife have a daughter? Was her name Styliani, and what is the source of the name? His own mother's name was Theodote. Could the source have been Stylianos Zaoutzes?

him and his friend John Xiphilinos[3] to quit the court and Constantinople, and to retire to a monastery.

A great deal is known about Michael Psellos, but of his only child, Styliani, we know nothing more than what he has set forth in his composition, and we may therefore wonder what portion of these details were actual. It cannot be overlooked that the grief-stricken father, not long after the girl's death while composing a lament for her loss extended and elaborated upon actual details (graces, virtues, etc.) and produced a subjective representation, wherin actuality and imagination were molded together with his intellectual and aesthetic interests.

These speculations notwithstanding, it appears that Styliani was a pretty, intelligent maiden, whose family background and environment contributed much to her development as an alert, modest, gifted and lovable youngster. So precious was she to her parents that they felt it was fortuitous, despite their anguish and great sorrow, she had left this sad, foul world[4] ". . . untouched and unstained by its evil. . . ." If however Styliani had lived-out her span of life, she probably would have married some young man of the nobility, and have raised an attractive family.

It has been seen that the first composition (text 1) provided us with considerable details about Michael Psellos himself and his outlook. He was seen in the part of a parent, proud and happy with his daughter's character and her abilities (also with her progress in learning), who was as he pointed out ". . . first among her schoolmates. . . ." But at the same time however, he mentioned that she did not neglect the craft of the loom, while she also occupied herself with weaving and emboidery.

There are also references to Psellos' wife, to the household and the immediate family circle, including relatives, friends, etc. These details are interwoven with the later period–the terrible days and nights of Styliani's illness and suffering. The author also tells with concern and gratitude about various persons, the mother, the close relatives, the family friends, including the nurses and the servants, who stood by during the girl's illness to comfort her and her parents, and to accompany them to the cemetary where they wept and mourned together the sorrowful loss of the maiden.

Although in no other text known at this time does Michael Psellos appear in the role of a father[5] and parent, he does express elsewhere "fatherly sentiments" for his students. In some discourses, he shows concern for their studies and advancement in learning and he urges them to use their time and

3. See below: III, D.
4. See above, nn. 68 and 82 in Part I. The expression may also be one of consolation.
5. Sathas and others have attributed some suspect works to Michael Psellos that tell of an "adopted daughter" and even of a grandson!

opportunity profitably. In other works he praises some of them and is happy about their efforts; and in one[6] we find him impatient and critical of students who would waste their time—who were actually indifferent to study and, to the benefits they could gain from "the treasurehouse" of Ancient Greece and from its philosophy in particular.

Concerning Michael Psellos' role as a family man, it appears that our only source of information is the funeral oration. Human and moving as the work may be, it remains on one level a sorrowful expression of a parent heartbroken by the loss of his only beloved child, while on another it is an attractive work of literary art. For these and a number of other details the oration is worthy of further study.

B. *Medicine in Eleventh-Century Constantinople*

Despite the long and continuous Byzantine preoccupation with medicine among practitioners,[7] teachers of medicine, professors of philosophy, and others, very little progress if any was made in its practical and scientific domains. It might be said that this was so largely because Byzantines dealing with medical art were preoccupied principally (and for a variety of reasons) with theory—with ancient Greek literature on medicine, with the language, and method of Hippocrates and other physicians, and also with ancient Greek philosophers who wrote on medicine. These predilections can be seen in the writings of Michael Psellos, of Theodoros Prodromos and Michael Italikos (both of the mid- and later twelfth century) and in many others. Further revealing of the environment in which Byzantine medical activities and studies existed, men like Michael Italikos (the teacher of Philosophy of Rhetoric and Theology and later Archbishop of Philippopolis) is said to have also been an instructor (teacher) of medicine (*διδάσκαλος τῶν ἰατρῶν*).[8]

The interest and active role Michael Psellos played in medicine is revealed not only by his minute notations in text I, not only in the various essays and other compositions (see further on) he has written on medicine, but also by what he tells in his *Chronographia* and elsewhere, including the role medicine played in his private life and teaching. Nevertheless, it has been noted in the first text that contemporary (eleventh-century) medicine was unable to diagnose, help or alleviate the suffering or to cure the sick. At

6. See my study, "Student Life in Eleventh-Century Constantinople," Βυζαντινα, 7 (1975), 377-88.

7. One can hardly use the term "physicians," though the use in Byzantium of *ἰατρός*, i.e., doctor, was common, for their knowledge of medicine was most rudimentary and was based largely on theory. See below III, B.

8. See R. Browning, "Unpublished Correspondence Between Michael Italicus, Archbishop of Philippolis, and Theodore Prodomus," *Byzantinobulgarica*, 1 (1962), 279-97.

the same time, it must seem curious to students of medicine that the malady (a severe case of smallpox) is referred to by Psellos as something unusual and "difficult to diagnose"! For actually that disease (or epidemic) appeared periodically in Byzantium and Western Europe in the Middle Ages. It came from Africa and the East, carrying off some, but also leaving characteristic signs whereever it passed. The epidemic of smallpox that deformed, tormented and ended the life of Styliani ravaged the Byzantine Empire recurrently, and even the princess Eudokia, eldest daughter of Constantine VIII and sister of Zoe and Theodora," . . . had been disfigured by smallpox."[9] A century later, a prominent Byzantine intellectual leader and teacher of philosophy, rhetoric, etc., Theodoros Prodromos, a prolific writer and admirer of Plato, also composed a detailed description of a smallpox outbreak, which he himself had contracted,[10] was ravaged by it, but survived.[11]

The smallpox epidemics fell upon Byzantium repeatedly, ravaged many and passed on to the West, leaving suffering, deformity and death in their course. They bewildered the Byzantine populace and the physicians euphemistically referred to them as *εὐλογιά* or blessing. Michael Psellos was very critical of those practitioners whom he pointed out ". . . were known more for their failures than for their success. . . ." These circumstances persisted in Byzantium throughout its millenium and reflected conditions (historical and others) that impeded development in medicine and other scientific domains. And while the imperial court was later able to bring in physicians from the East, the people, for the larger part, had to depend on various practitioners and prayers.

Apparently, certain factors– among them the emphasis of the teaching on medical theory, the linking of medicine with philosophy, the opposition of the church to science generally and to Hellenism,[12] the absence of any systematic medical training and the ignoring of the practical side of medicine–restricted the development of that science.

Because of these and other reasons, there was little time nor were facilities available to achieve advances in Byzantine science. Also, while medicine along with philosophy and several other sciences formed part of medieval encyclopaedic learning, surviving notes, commentaries, etc., show its dependence on ancient Greek sources. At the same time teachers ("Masters") in the higher schools of learning as Michael Psellos, Michael Italikos and

9. See G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell's, 1968), p. 321. She was the older sister of Zoe and Theodora.

10. Disfigurement included pok-marks on the face or body, loss of hair, etc.

11. See E. Jeanselme and L. Oeconomos, "Communication faite au premier Congrés de l'histoire et de l'art de guerir," publié 1921 Anvers.

12. The opposition however was not continuous and there were periods of toleration. See III, D and F, wherein we see philosophy and Hellenism persisted.

others, taught philosophy and a number of other subjects, but also medical theories.

A number of literary texts, including the late eleventh century *Timarion*,[13] the twelfth-century *Physician or the executioner* (Δήμιος ἤ Ἰατρός) and the fourteenth century *Mazaris' sojourn in Hades* reflect those conditions.

Although the revival of learning in Byzantium after 1025, or following the death of Basil II, brought an increased interest in letters, in philosophy and science (including medicine), it appears from all surviving evidence that no medical schools were founded in Byzantium, nor do we know of any systematically trained physicians to have been brought forth during the eleventh or later centuries.[14]

In contrast to the above developments in Byzantium, the Moslem East made considerable advances in science and in medicine; and it is interesting to note that from the eleventh century on one finds physicians from the East in the court at Constantinople, while the most important writers on medicine at that time were Michael Psellos and his contemporary, Symeon Seth (Σήθ). Both were active in the imperial court, and if they were not actually rivals in medicine, they represented nevertheless different approaches to that science. Also like Michael Psellos who had dedicated works on medicine to the reigning emperor, Symeon Seth did the same and his Σύνταγμα κατά στοιχεί ων καί τροφῶν δουνάμεων (i.e., *A Lexicon on the Property of Foods*) was presented to Michael VII Doukas. Earlier, Psellos had addressed his *Collection of Essays on Medicine and on Other Topics* (Διδασκαλία Παντοδαττή . . . Πόνιμα Ἰατρικόν)[15] to Constantine X, the father of Michael VII.

Aside from the above mentioned work which may have been a comprehensive instruction manual on a number of topics from medicine to physiology, Psellos composed several others works dealing with medicine. Among them are his Πάνιμα Ἰατρικόν, a composition on various medical topics in 1,357 iambic verses, a short essay on the medical property of stones, Περί λίθων δυνάμεων, a lexicon on the common names of diseases, Περί κοινῶν στοιχείων καί τροφῶν δουάτων ἐν νοσήμασι, and another essay on nutrition Περί διαίτης. The last work was dedicated to Constantine X Doukas.

Michael Psellos and Symeon Seth were influenced by ancient Greek physicians, philosophers, among them Hippocrates, Galen, Dioskourides, Aetios, Oribasios, Empedocles, and Proclos. A notable difference, however appears in the writings of Symeon Seth who referred to and used Arabic sources.

13. See my forthcoming study on this work.

14. See Bréhier, *Le monde byzantin*, III, 380-82.

15. The work was published in *Michael Psellus, De omnifaria doctrina*, ed. L. G. Westerink (Utrecht, 1948).

Symeon Seth who was a physician of Semitic origin had gone to Constantinople as a youth with his father. Later, Symeon became court-physician to Michael VII Doukas and flourished like Psellos in the second half of the eleventh century. But judging from the surviving eleventh-century Byzantine works on medicine—commentaries, notations, collected material, and satires—it appears that very little if any progress was made in the actual treatment of patients or in surgery. Furthermore, even though the twelfth century displayed increased interest in medicine and a number of hospitals were founded in Constantinople by emperors and the state, and though we find references to teachers of medicine, in actuality conditions remained largely unchanged as our surviving sources amply show. The hospitals were hospices, or homes for the ill and the aged, or charitable institutions under the supervision of a state official, while the *διδάσκαλοι τῶν ἰατρῶν*, i.e., teachers of medicine, dealt with speculation. Yet, important though those developments were, they contributed nothing to the treatment of patients or to practical medicine.

As for Michael Psellos' detailed description of Styliani's illness, one finds in some other works similar descriptions and like developments of passing from robust health and beauty to the opposite. We have seen above in the funeral oration that Psellos begins with a detailed description of Styliani as she was prior to her illness—vigorous, agile, attractive and delightful. Thus, while in the beginning she is pictured full of life and action, and joyous to behold, she appears subsequently confined to her bed, ravaged and deformed horribly by disease. In a like manner in his *Chronographia* (VI. 124-26), Psellos tells about the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos. He is first portrayed as handsome with a striking physical appearance. We are told about his good looks, his robust health and "... his beauty was like that of Achilles or Nireus ... for Nature having formed him ... brought him to perfection. ..." He rode well and was an extremely fast runner. But then illness came upon him (*ibid*., pp. 127 and 129) with debilitating symptoms, and the former attractive person was deformed and suffered "... enduring pains, leading to paralysis and misfortune."

While Michael Psellos' name is intimately associated with philosophy, Hellenism and literature, actually his interests in teaching and writing covered a large variety of subjects including astronomy, music, rhetoric, and others, including medicine, both theoretical and practical. As to medicine a notation appears in the *Chronographia* VII. 74 '5 and is of particular interest to us. In a passage where he speaks of Isaac I Komnenos, he writes: "... for he [Isaac I] knew that besides my other activities I had also *practiced Medicine*. ..." Furthermore, we are told that on another occasion when he approached the emperor who was then on his sick-bed, Isaac said to him "... 'You came at an opportune moment' and he promptly gave me his hand to feel the pulse. ..." Psellos also mentions that he and the emperor's chief

physician were present, and that he [Psellos] "disagreed with his diagnosis"!

C. *Law: Jurisprudence in Eleventh-Century Byzantium*

The institution of law in the Byzantine Empire had been inherited along with several other systems from Rome; and inevitably its spirit, form, and a number of its characteristics reflect that origin. It was and remained throughout one of the most important legacies that Byzantium nursed, developed and transmitted to Europe and the Near East. Indeed Roman law, as it evolved throughout the Byzantine millenium, also incorporated numerous elements from the Hellenistic world, from ancient Greek philosophy, and from a number of eastern sources. After the fourth century A.D., it was deeply infused and made more flexible and human through Christian influences, while Byzantine jurisconsults, courts, students of law, and the School of Law in Constantinople under John Xiphilinos, each made their own special contributions. Thus, the institution of law in Byzantium developed, expanded, enriched and molded itself to fit the newer and continuously changing needs.

Byzantine law codes from the fourth to the mid-fifteenth century show amply those developments. The imperial codes of *Theodosios* and *Justinian*, the *Eklogai* of Leo III, the *Basilika* of Leo VI, etc., were continuously developed and modified. Indeed, Byzantine civil and canon law preoccupied generations of legal minds, and the result of this activity holds a considerable place within the empire's surviving literature, while the influence of the codes on Europe and law generally is incalculable.

The source and foundation of Byzantine law was the Roman Empire and the law was directly linked with person of the emperor, as it has been pointed out by Louis Bréhier.[16] He writes: the emperor was "... le juge suprême ... juger est sa fonction primordiale ... toute Justice émane de l'Empereur (source de Droit) ... nul ne peut rendre Justice qu'en son nom. ..." These traditions and their continuity can be seen in the wording and spirit of Byzantine codes, for they bear the name and authority of the reigning sovereign. Some laws, however, are simply entitled Βασιλικά, i.e., imperial, Εκλογαί, i.e., selections from earlier imperial codes, and Επαναγωγή, i.e., reinstatement.[17]

When young men of ability and intellectual capacity wanted to complete their studies, find employment, or enter a profession during the Byzantine period, they would go to Constantinople. If some among them did not want

16. Bréhier, II, 179-202.

17. The titles refer to imperial codes of law and are associated with the names of emperors: *Eklogai* (Leo III); *Epanagoge* (Basil I); *Basilika* (Leo VI), etc. See further Ostrogorsky, variously.

to take up any of the common, more accessible pursuits as the work of a laborer, of a servant in one of the wealthy homes, of a rower in the navy or merchant marine, or the career of a soldier, or enter a monastery, then they had two choices. One was the entry into the Byzantine bureaucratic administration and work in one of its *σεκρέτα*, i.e., offices as a clerk or scribe *σεκρετικός*. Another choice would be to become a lawyer, *ἀσηκριτής*, *νοτάριος*, *συνήγορος*. Since knowledge of law was important in the government and administration, in public and civil affairs, in the Church and elsewhere, the emperors were oblidged to found schools of higher learning, usually located in Constantinople and placed under their supervision in order to prepare educated public officials and men trained in law.

Such were the purposes of a number of higher schools established in the capital from the fourth and fifth centuries onward, and of the two eleventh century (ca. 1045) institutions of learning.[18] One was the School of Law, directed by John Xiphilinos; the other was the School of Philosophy directed by Michael Psellos. Alongside these, however, there also existed in Constantinople various private schools,[19] where young men would go after completing their primary schooling to study rhetoric, philosophy and possibly some elements of law. During the earlier centuries, however, in the teaching of law: nothing had been carefully or systematically organized; and it appears that no school of law existed in the Byzantine capital prior to the eleventh century. Yet, both the study of law and the legal profession existed in the empire prior to 1045, but legal study was casual, disorganized and depended mainly on memorization. For the most part, young men began their actual contacts with the profession by working for a lawyer or in the office of a notary.

Michael Psellos' association with law probably began early, at the same time of encyclopaedic studies, although later he served as a lawyer's clerk in Asia Minor. Beyond this and despite his learning and oratorical talents that would have served him well in the profession, there is no evidence to demonstrate that he actually practiced in a court of law.[20] And although he may have been appointed one of the judges in the civil court of Velum that tried the case of *Vestarchis* Michael, neither then nor on any other known occasion did he actively practice the profession of lawyer.

In that same text, a brief but significant view of Byzantine civil court procedures is described. John Kordakas, Elipidios Kenchris' defense lawyer,

18. See my study, "The University: Origin and Early Phases in Constantinople," *Byzantion*, 41 (1971), 161-82.

19. See my forthcoming study on this topic.

20. Psellos, however, had close contacts with law, the legal profession, the courts, etc., through his teaching, functions at court, his friend Xiphilinos, and others. See below III, C.

brought forth certain objections, but was overruled because of legal traditional forms, and principally because of the empress's earlier decision. Therefore, while the defense counsel remonstrated to certain details in the *vestarchis* testimony, these were disregarded by the judges. Another notable detail in the litigation was that, although the judges were dealing with a protégé of Empress Theodora, they actually handled him in an indifferent manner, much to his surprise.[21] And one may well wonder what were the reasons and significance for that treatment?

Another practicing lawyer and a contemporary of Michael Psellos was Michael Attaleiates. It is said that he went to Constantinople as a youth, studied law, and became a practicing lawyer. It is known that he served as judge, *κριτής*, in the two civil courts of Velum and the Hippodrome. Although Attaleiates made a fortune, he is known for his charitable activities[22] and for a number of compositions including his *History* and a *Διάταξις*, i.e., Will or Stipulation. In view of Attaleiates' silent treatment of Michael Psellos in his historical work that relates the events of 1034-79, it might be noted that each belonged to opposite political parties, i.e., civilian, or military. Also, the Emperor Michael VII who had been a pupil of Psellos, but had brushed him aside, commissioned Attaleiates to compose for him a manual of law.

The lawyers' profession in Byzantium prior to the sixth century had been one without restriction or regulation concerning their studies and the exercise of their profession. It has been mentioned above that young men who went to Constantinople to study law would usually serve an apprenticeship alongside a practicing lawyer or a notary. They would also attend courses in one of the schools where *διδάσκαχοι νομικοί*, i.e., instructors in law, taught, the former would then go on to practice.

It was during the sixth century, however, that the Constantinopolitan lawyers formed a corporation to bring considerable order to their profession and also to the teaching of law in the schools.[23] The rules and regulations imposed on the profession and on the schools of law reflected concerns with abuses and disorders. Thereafter the schools teaching law and their students were closely supervised, while at the same time the number of lawyers allowed to join the corporation was limited. In order to become a member, the applicant's background had to be examined and approved by a committee. Lawyers in Byzantium not only practiced in the courts, but

21. It was noted in Part II, above, that the judges accorded him no considerations.

22. He founded a charitable center (monastery) in Constantinople. See his Διάταξις.

23. In the pre-Byzantine centuries, the fourth and fifth, no definite period had been fixed for the study of law in Byzantium. It was in the sixth century that the requirement was set for four years and later extended to five. See Bréhier, II, 183.

they also served in a number other domains in the administration, in diplomacy, in the army, and in the church. The lawyers in Constantinople were well organized and they wore a distinctive robe, *toga*, which presumably was black, but they also wore a distinctive hat. But difficulties, abrupt historical changes and trials descended on the Byzantine Empire after the sixth century, and the legal profession and its schools followed a checkered course until the important reorganizations of the eleventh century.

Although little is known about Michael Psellos' studies in law prior to the 1040s, it appears that they were general and fragmentary, and actually his main interests centered on philosophy and on rhetoric. His familiarity with and modest knowledge of law was expanded and enriched when he came into contact with John Xiphilinos. Although the date of their meeting is not known, it is said that when they were both students they helped each other. Psellos would teach philosophy to Xiphilinos, while the latter would instruct Psellos in law; and it appears that this interchange of knowledge was continued later on (ca. 1042) when both were directors of higher schools of learning (of philosophy, and of law) and were active in the court of Constantine IX Monomachos.

The contributions of John Xiphilinos to the study of law and to jurisprudence cannot be overemphasized. Not only did he reorganize the teaching of law in Byzantium by establishing a solid foundation for its systematic study, and not only did he bring order to the vast accumulation of legalistic codes and documents, but at the same time the school of law he shaped and directed in Constantinople (ca. 1045-54) influenced directly the other schools that appeared later in western Europe, in Bologna and Paris.[24]

The second text or memorandum examined above, is an important and rare document of its kind to have come down to us from the eleventh century. Rich in details about Byzantine jurisprudence and about upper class society, it has attracted the attention of modern scholars, historians, students of law, and sociologists. Indeed, most scholars wish that the text might have provided us with further information about Byzantine legalistic procedures in particular. For while the parade of individuals—the principles in the lawsuit, the judges, the witnesses, and the defense lawyer—is noteworthy, all nevertheless comes to an abrupt ending. Yet, it is also to be noted that the judges managed to have the last word!

It appears from the texts internal evidence and inspite of various expressed points of view[25] that the memorandum was composed by Michael Psellos and that the author and *Vestarchis* Michael are two distinct persons. But a number of details remain unintelligible, and not all questions are clear.

24. See my study, "The University."
25. See above, Part II, n. 53.

D. *Philosophy in Eleventh-Century Byzantium: Michael Psellos and Platonism*

. . . because Philosophy cannot be compared with anything else [i.e., with any other science] for while it surpasses every other, it is at the same time in harmony with all of them. Should one seek to evaluate [Philosophy] he would be oblidged to compare it only with itself. Otherwise how could it remain what it is: the art of all arts, and the science of all sciences. . . .	. . . *φιλοσοφία μέν γάρ, ἅτε τό ἐκ πασῶν οὖση, καί τήν διά πασῶν συμφωνίαν ἐχούση, οὐδέν ἄν παραβάλοιτο· αὐτην γάρ ἑαυτῇ συγρίνοιεν ὁ οὕτω ποιῶν· ἤ πῶς ἄν αὐτῇ σωθείη, τό τέχνη τεχνῶν εἶναι καί ἐπιστήμη ἐποστημῶν* . . . .[26]

In the two compositions (I and II) examined above, and in practically most of his other writings Michael Psellos' interests in and preoccupations with philosophy are apparent.

In Byzantium, Platonism[27] and Aristotelianism were cultivated throughout the empire's existence and more so during the empire's periods of cultural flowering. Inspite of the danger of being accused of sympathy for Hellenism, then of being brought to trial and condemned as an admirer of the profane philosophies, such interests persisted. Like other intellectual leaders in Byzantium, Psellos was repeatedly accused by rivals, the envious and even his friends of having an "excessive admiration for Plato"! In his *apologia* ("declaration of Faith")[28] addressed to the Emperor Constantine IX, Psellos professed his faith in Orthodoxy. But while he was able to deter his accusers and to justify his interests in philosophy and Hellenism, others like his disciple and successor John Italos[29] were formally accused, brought to trial, and dismissed from their positions. Nevertheless, the interest and study of philosophy, the "profane literature," and Hellenism continued without any serious interruption.

26. From Psellos' *Ἐγκώμιον εἰ'ς Ἰωάννη τόν θεοσέβαστον Μητροπολίτην Ευχαϊ τῶν καί προτόσογγολον.*

27. In its two forms: a. Byzantine, Neoplatonic mixed, etc.; b. in its pure form, i.e., based on the texts of Plato, from the eleventh century on.

28. A. Garzya, "On Michael Psellus' Admission of Faith," *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 35 (1966-67), 41-46.

29. At the School of Philosophy, Constantinople.

During the Byzantine era a considerable number of persons, both laymen and churchmen, studied and preoccupied themselves with philosophy. Most prominent among the former were Michael Psellos, John Italos, Theodore Metochites and George Plethon. It was largely through their efforts of teaching and writing that Platonism was kept alive and further developed in Byzantium, and was then passed on to the West.[30] Psellos' intellectual interests and preoccupations with philosophy and rhetoric were renowned in his own time; both his teaching and his writings had a profound influence on the intellectual and cultural environment of Byzantium from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. In a Lucianic-stylized satirical dialogue, *Timarion*, composed by an unknown writer[31] at the close of the eleventh century, Psellos is represented as a Sophist,[32] who makes a distinguished appearance in Hades, where he is warmly received among the spirits of ancient Greek philosophers. Although Psellos interests in knowledge, Hellenism, and most of all in philosophy were not without opposition and threats of all kinds, he was able to pursue them throughout his lifetime. And though the "funeral oration" shows him turning during his time of grief and desperation along witn his family to God and religion, his preoccupations with philosophy however never diminished, as his later compositions demonstrate.

In his *encomion* for John Mavropous, Psellos wrote as if he was speaking directly to his friend and former teacher:

. . . In truth it seems to me that you address yourself to God, behave virtuously and seek the moderation and the elevation of Thought and this in order to attain Harmony. No one can deny that these [three pursuits] bring joy to those who have found Peace. But this joy is for some, and not always for the same person. Nor does it last for a long time, because like light-

. . . "Εοικας δέ μοι οἴεσθαι τόν ἐφ' ἡσυχίας βίον αὐτόχρημα ὁμιλίαν τε πρός θεόν εἶναι καί ἐπιτυχίαν κρειττόνων, καί λογισμῶν ἔπαρσιν ἤ ἀνάπαυσιν. "Οτι μέν οὖν καί χάρις τοιαύτη τοῖς ἡσυχάζουσι γίνεται, οὐκ ἄν ἀρνηθείην, ἀλλ'' ἐνίοις, καί οὐδέ τούτοις ἀεί, οὐδ' ἐπί πολύ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀστραπή ὁμοῦ τε ἔλαμψε καί παρελήλυθε τό φανέν . . . καί ἵνα τ' ἀκριβές εἴπομι, ἥν νοῦς ἐπιστατῇ φιλόσοφος πᾶσι πράγμασιν, οὐδέν ἄν ἀηδές τοῖς μεταχειρίζουσι ταῦτα γένοιτο. . .[33]

30. See R. Byron, *The Byzantine Achievement: An Historical Perspective, A. D. 330-1453* (London: G. Routledge & Sons ltd., 1929), p. 236.

31. Several attempts, not very satisfactory, have been made to identify the *unknown writer* of this work. See R. Romano, ed., *Timarione*, Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neo-apolitana 2 (Napoli: Università di Napoli–Cattedra di Filologia Bizantina, 1974), pp. 25-38.

32. See above introduction to Part I and III, D.

33. See above, n. 26.

ning [this joy once attained]
flashes and disappears . . . and
to speak precisely: if the mind
is controller in all these matters,
then nothing disagreeable can
happen to those who follow
them [i.e., the three pursuits].

Here and in a number of other compositions we see Michael Psellos striving to relate philosophy to religion, while throughout in his thought, writing, and teaching his actual concerns for the preservation and continuity of philosophy and Hellenism were continuous, sometimes openly expressed and at other times veiled for reasons mentioned above. His particular interests in and devotion to Plato and his ideas have been set forth in a letter[34] of reply to certain accusations sent to his friend John Xiphilinos, who in 1064 had been installed as Patriarch of Constantinople. In his letter Psellos openly avows his interests: "[Indeed] Plato is 'mine', O Sun and Earth . . . why should I exaggerate [the philosopher's renown and my own interest] with words; of my dealings with the man and his dialogues. Also of my marvelling at the manner by which he develops his thought. But since you accuse me, why don't you also accuse the Great Fathers [of the Church] for didn't they also use Philosophy to refute heretics like the Eunomians and the Apollianarians?[35] If you believe that I follow those notions [i.e., of Plato], then you do not judge me properly brother. . . ."

Then continuing his reply to the Patriarch's earlier letter, Psellos added: ". . . since I have studied many philosophical writings and have delivered a large number of discourses [on that discipline] I cannot deny that I have been concerned with Plato, nor have I neglected Aristotle while I am also familiar with both Chaldean and Egyptian notions . . . Yes by your reverend head! And what can I say about the forbidden books?[36]

Yet all these matters, when I compared them to our God given *Scriptures*, the clear, the shining, the infallible, were found to be fraudulent and full of adulteration. . . ." But then in concluding his *apologia*, Psellos returned to his initial argument: ". . . [Yes] Plato is 'mine' . . . yet I fear that he is also 'yours'! that is to repeat your own words. [In spite of this however], you have never succeeded in refuting any of Plato's ideas nor his renown.

34. Entitled: Τῶ *μοναχῶ κυρ* Ἰ*ωάννην καὶ γεγονότι* Πατ*ριάρχη τῷ* Ξι*φιλίνω* in Sathas, V, 444-51.

35. Psellos, who has written that he studied theology (*ἱερατική τέχνη*), has also dealt with certain "heresies." Here he referred to two dissenting religious sects of the fourth century. See the work *Timotheos,* attributed to Psellos.

36. Or such books dealing with the occult, magic, secret rites, etc.

While as for me I was almost able to do this even though it cannot be said that all his ideas are 'worthless'. For the discourses on Justice[37] and those on the immortality of the Soul[38] were the sources of our own [Christian] dogmas. . . ." Perhaps after rereading his letter, and wanting to soften its critical and harsh espressions (for he had written ". . . You who criticize all! O hater of philosophic discourses; I say this as not to call you hater of Philosophy"), Psellos added in closing: ". . . But do not believe [for a moment] brother most beloved, for you are beloved, that what I wrote here, after you sought to cut me off from Christ and bind me up with Plato, was prompted by any hate for you. Not at all, by mine and your own Jesus Christ. Rather it was because I was greatly offended by your attacks on Plato and could not accept their unfairness. . . ."

Elsewhere, in another letter, τῷ καίσαρι Ιωάννῃ τῷ Δουκᾶ, sent to John Doukas, brother of the Emperor Constantine X, Psellos explained: ". . . Because I am a disciple of Plato and remember word for word the Logoi [i.e., the arguments] set forth in the *Republic*. . . ." His reference was to a discussion centering around such ideals as Justice, the meaning of Good, and so forth. Psellos also attempted to instill these and other Platonic notions in his pupil, Prince Michael (later Michael VII Doukas). Ironically enough, Psellos lived to see his former student fail as a ruler, forced to abdicate (31 May 1078), and sent to a monastery.[39]

It has been noted above that a number of modern scholars occupied themselves with the writings, the thought and life of Michael Psellos. But some contemporary historians, Zervos in particular, have called Psellos a Neoplatonist and, although as he himself has written Psellos had been influenced considerably by that school of philosophy and has extolled Proclos,[40] he does not actually belong to it, for the major and predominant influence on his thought and work was Plato.

Psellos' role as a cultural and intellectual leader in the Middle Ages is well known, and he is also said to have been the forerunner of Platonism in Italy, and of the Renaissance.[41] His preoccupations are evident not only in his writings, but also in his teaching, in the activities of his disciples, and others in the succeeding centuries.

It has been mentioned above that, although his interests and preoccupa-

37. Justice: *Republic* I. 33; *Laws* I. 631; and *Gorgias* 483.
38. Soul: *Phaedros* 245C; *Republic* 608D; *Meno* 81C; and *Symposium* 208.
39. Nor was Psellos successful in transmitting philosophical notions to his father Constantine X Doukas.
40. Whom he calls "the most excellent Proclos (θαυμασιώτατον Πρόκλον)" in *Chronographia* VI. 38.
41. See Byron; and A. Rambaud, "Michael Psellos, philosophe et homme d'état byzantin," *Revue historique*, 3 (1897), 312-27.

tion with profane matters and with philosophy especially were exposed to opposition and to charges of "impiety," Psellos managed nevertheless to explain and to justify his activities in an acceptable manner.[42] Others like his disciple and successor at the School of Philosophy, John Italos, stirred up much antagonism and trouble. But Italos cared little[43] about the animosity he had stirred up and was too outspoken for the realization of his aims. He is important to the history of philosophy because ". . . Jusq' à Italos nous cherchons la pensé philosophique a l'interieur de la Theologie. Italos, le premier, rend à la Philosophie son autonomie. . . ."[44] He was brought to trial however, forced to recant publicly in the cathedral of Haghia Sophia, and then expelled from his teaching post.

Although Italos was daring, outspoken and indifferent to dogma, including threats from church and government, and although he insisted that philosophy was a science "independent" and not the "servant of Theology," his outlook and expressions were considered too extreme for his times and were so judged by the church, the imperial government and Alexios I, who presided over his trial. Italos' positions were extreme and different from those taken by his former teacher, Psellos. Thus, while one may extoll the place and importance of John Italos, admire his courage during difficult times which were oppressive to science and freedom of thought, yet Michael Psellos appears in contrast as a statesman and an actual preserver of those traditions of philosophy and Hellenism which he nursed, cultivated and transmitted over and beyond his own century.

E. *Byzantine Society*

The social environment of eleventh-century Constantinople into which Michael Psellos was born and flourished was that of the upper classes. It included the aristocracy of the capital, the court, the highest church officials, and the upper middle classes. The roots of that society, along with its traditions, were in ancient Rome and in the Hellenistic world, while its political foundations were also rooted in the imperial and monarchical past, harboring within them certain worthy qualities along with the limitations and evils of that system.

Byzantine society was alive and highly stratified, but open at the same time.[45] Its history shows that individuals and families, no matter what their origin or initial status may have been, could move from one stratum upward

42. See III, D.

43. Annae Comnenae, *Alexias*, 2 vols., Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae (Bonn: impensis E. Weberi, 1839-78), and her impressions of John Italos.

44. See B. Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Presses univ., 1959), p. 214.

45. Particularly during the earlier Byzantine centuries.

to another and even to the apex. Thus all social levels were oriented toward that summit, i.e., the imperial throne, the "God chosen emperor," and to the colorful court of Constantinople. The society was a heterogeneous union of people, races, religions and cultures, bound together by another amalgum of Roman, Greek, Christian and Eastern institutions, customs, beliefs ideas and cultural elements.[46] But Byzantine society was divided internally at the same time by social, economic and even religious differences.

In that Byzantine society, however, loyalties depended as in most social organizations on power, on strong, dynamic but also successful leadership, on victorious actions, and on the prosperity of ruling groups. There was nothing monolithic about the Byzantine Empire, as its history amply shows. Nevertheless, a number of institutions and forms persisted, but even these—imperiality, art, law, and language underwent certain, even though slight changes. But the person of the emperor, certain other institutions, and above all in the city of Constantinople the mind, not the heart, of Byzantium remained. It was in imperial capital where laws, culture, arts and religious expressions and dogma were shaped and radiated to the provinces.

Inevitably, there was reaction and opposition to the imposing, imperial structure, to the administration and its policies, and to officials and institutions. The opposition and open hostility came from various social groups the majority of whom did not have the means to take action. Dissent was usually carried on by the powerful and wealthy magnates *dynatoi* of the eastern provinces. Yet, even they looked to the capital and coveted the throne for themselves and their family.

There existed in Byzantium at the highest social level two antagonistic groups: the military aristocracy of the provinces and the capital nobility. Each possessed qualities and dynamic potentialities of its own, but also they had their limitations along with shortsighted interests and actions. In the eleventh century, these two groups competed for the imperial throne. Their internal conflict, along with other social economic and religious problems, brought discontent, deterioration, and the eventual downfall of Byzantium.

Psellos' father, we are told, was an aristocrat, and there had been ". . . men of patrician rank among his ancestors. . . ."[47] In the eleventh century however, Psellos' father had fallen from the ranks of the nobility, and was engaged in trade and commerce. We have no precise information however about these matters, but in the same work Psellos mentions that the family underwent financial difficulties; nor is it known whether those conditions were brought on by external circumstances or by the father's mismanagement of his commercial affairs.

46. Fused into "one State, one religion and one law."
47. See the *encomion* for his mother in Sathas, V, 29.

The social and economic background on Psellos appears to have been an impediment to his career and in his rise up the ladder of dignities, and also in gaining the emperor's favor. Courtiers and others of aristocratic rank in the court made fun of his lowly origin. His enemies and wellborn rivals were jealous of Psellos' abilities and resented his rise and his acquisition of titles and posts in the government. Thus, whenever possible, they sought to undermine his name and capabilities before the emperor as he himself has written in his *Chronographia*, but without mentioning names or giving precise details.

Unmistakably, interaction with upper class society was important to Psellos and frequent references to them appear in his writings. From these and other Byzantine sources, it can be seen that the center or heart of medieval society was the family, wherein the mother as in almost all social levels was relegated to a less active role. She could nevertheless and when circumstances allowed assume an important and decisive role.[48] This can be seen in the case of Theodote, the mother of Psellos, in those of Zoe and Theodora, and even among the lesser nobility and the poor. On the whole however, the role of women among the lower classes in the Middle Ages was largely, if not entirely, inconspicuous, Psellos mentions them occasionally, but only in passing, or when necessary.

Should a comparison be attempted of social conditions in eleventh century Byzantium with those in the Latin West in the same period, one would find in the latter a more troubled, greatly divided social environment, where warfare, restless populations and fragmentation prevailed. At the same time, while barons and knights were fighting each other, the Normans lacked restraint and sought to carve out kingdoms wherever possible in Europe. During the years of Michael Psellos, John Xiphilinos, Constantine IX and Theodora, the Normans had not yet invaded England, nor had the Crusades begun.

Byzantine society in contrast was more orderly and settled. To be sure this was largely true of the upper ruling classes and of conditions as they appeared on the surface. Indeed, that environment had a semblance of well-being, while its culture was alive and colorful. There existed at the same time internal divisions, armed conflict, poverty, unrest and despair, and also opposition to the central government. Yet despite those conditions and the conflict between civilian and military parties, no actual political fragmentation existed in Byzantium.

Michael Psellos, who belonged to the civilian faction has written about certain uprisings which took place in his times, and the one led by the dy-

48. See my study, "Women Active in the Middle Ages," *The Greek Review of Social Research*, 19-20 (1974), 102-10.

namic George Maniakes.[49] Although Maniakes was not of the landed aristocracy, it appears he had their support. Physically, he was very tall, powerfully built, and a talented person, who by his prowess and military abilities had risen through the ranks and had become a general.

Prior to this uprising we are told that Maniakes had led the Byzantine armed forces and had distinguished himself in the campaigns of the East and in those of the West, but then for various reasons—anxiety within the government, envy among his fellow officers, fear of him and his abilities—among others, he was slighted, accused of treason and thrown into prison. Such circumstances are familiar to Byzantium and to history. Psellos has written: ". . . I have known this person [George Maniakes] myself and was impressed, for nature had bestowed on him all the attributes of a man destined to command. He stood ten feet tall [δέκα πόδες, an expression simply meaning "very tall"] and those who looked at him had to stare upwards, as if at a hill or the summit of a mountain. . . . There was nothing delicate or agreeable about him [. . . *οὐ τρυφετόν καί ἐπιτερπές* . . .] for he was like a fiery whirlwind with hands powerful enough to make fortifications totter and to crash through gates of brass. He had the movements of a springing lion; [these characteristics] along with the scowl on his face, made him terrible to behold . . . while barbarians lived in dread of him. . . ." This capable military leader, however, was treacherously slain in 1043.[50]

In his writings Michael Psellos not only dealt with the happenings of his time and with the conditions in his social environmnet, but he has also provided us with descriptions of his contemporaries. In the first text, the number of persons discussed is small, while in the second the number is larger. In the latter, outside of the personality of Michael Psellos whose outlook is reflected throughout the composition, there is *Vestarchis* Michael, the plaintiff in the lawsuit and the one actually responsible for the entire situation. There is also his young adopted daughter, but neither her name, nor her characteristics are mentioned, nor does she appear in any of the scenes described or take part in the court proceedings. Yet her presence is sensed as she moved about her father's house, glancing perhaps at her indifferent fiancée as he would come and go to be tutored unwillingly by his hated future father-in-law. Or when she possibly was living in the house of John Kenchris, the father of Elpidios, where she may have been placed[51] by her father when the *vestarchis* left for awhile for the monastery.

We can also imagine her complaining to her father about the young man's refusal to speak with her, and also of ignoring her completely. No doubt too,

49. *Chronographia* VI. 75 ff.
50. Probably by someone in his own forces!
51. Guilland, "Un compte-rendu."

she had also complained that Elpidios hated her, as the *vestarchis* later told the court. The girl may have been seven or eight years old, and it is possible that she was literate, for as she was the daughter of a teacher, who it was pointed out in the text, had concerned himself with her immediate and future needs, it is likely that she could at least read and write.

The person of the defendant Elpidios Kenchris is central in this text. He was in his early twenties, but nothing about his physical appearance is known. There is much told about his inconsiderate behaviour toward the *vestarchis*, about his indifference to learning, his shameful pursuits and lowly companions. Nevertheless, and inspite of all these details, from among several candidates "who held high posts in the court," the text explaines, the *vestarchis* had chosen Elpidios to be his future son-in-law. He was chosen probably because of the close friendship existing between the *vestarchis* and the young man's father, the *Protospartharios* John Kenchris, but also because Elpidios appeared to be an appropriate choice for his daughter who was seemingly amenable and capable of being developed, he assumed, in character and intellectually.

Whether the *vestarchis* knew of Elpidios' inclinations or not, he probably felt that he could influence and educate him in demeanor and in Wisdom, help improve his ways, help him lead a more virtuous way of life, and help him to climb up the ladder of court dignities to the benefit of himself and his fiancée. The *vestarchis* intended to accomplish these thing through his influence at court, and because he wanted to provide a comfortable future for the pair. But all his efforts were in vain as he had explained in his letter of supplication to the Empress Theodora. In it he noted that Elpidios neither cared for learning nor desired to improve his conduct, while he also expressed dislike for his fiancée. Repeatedly, the *vestarchis* attempted to interest Elpidios in learning, and urged him to follow the traditions and deportment of his class and rank; yet instead, the young man not only insisted on pursuing his own inclinations, but he also repaid the *vestarchis'* interests and efforts with contrariness and hatred. To what extent, then, was the depiction of Elpidios *typical* of the upper class environment of Constantinople? For if the imperial court was said to be notoriously profligate, if "immorality and bribery were rife. . . ," if emperors like Michael V[52] and Constantine IX were interested mainly in eunuch followers, mistresses and luxury, what could be expected of courtiers, officials and their children? Undoubtedly not all were carried along by that current, yet Michael Psellos has little good to say about his social environment.

Elpidios Kenchris, judging from all that was said and implied in the memo-

52. See *Chronographia* V. 15 and the reference to boy eunuchs (μειράκια) of the emperor's personal guard.

randum, appears to have been lazy, willful, indifferent in his behavior to the traditions and ways of his class and office, nor does he seem bright. He was apparently abnormal in his pursuits and would ignore place and persons, including the demands imposed by his titles, in order to follow his inclinations which included his mixing with "the most disreputable persons."[53] While both Elpidios and the *vestarchis* are the two main figures in the memorandum, their characterizations and especially that of the young man seem incomplete. Although this may have been done on purpose, as the author did not wish to offend any person, and the empress in particular for whom the work was intended, the result is sketchy with various questions left unanswered and considerable doubt about the identity of *Vestarchis* Michael.

The text tells little about the person of John Kenchris, who held the title of *protospatharios*, and belonged to the upper classes or petty nobility like his friend *Vestarchis* Michael. The latter's unwillingness to "reveal hidden matters" in the courtroom may have been prompted by consideration towards the young man's father and others whom he did not wish to embarrass. If this was so, then it was one of the few occasions that showed the *vestarchis* in a favorable light.

The two rulers appearing in the text, Constantine IX and Theodora, had by their actions and lavishness, but also by their lack of judgment, aided the circumstances leading to the lawsuit. But also it was Theodora's decisions that eventually brought about its termination. Constantine IX is criticized here and in other works for his apathy toward the affairs of state, his dispensation of titles and his scattering of money. It was said that he would hand out titles and grant favors to anyone who amused or flattered him. Nor did he particularly care for whom the titles were destined. Thus, while Psellos has praised Constantine IX for certain important and constructive acts, he was also critical of his "favorite Emperor."[54]

In contrast to the brief reference to Constantine IX, the Empress Theodora has a more important role in the memorandum and the litigation; these and other details are revealing of her part in the earlier affairs of the *vestarchis*. It seems that after Constantine's death, the *vestarchis* continued his demands and impositions upon Theodora, asking her for additional favors and dignities for his future son-in-law. In the beginning the empress apparently acquiesced to those requests, but then in view of the developments that followed, the gossip in the court about Elpidios and the subsequent petition of the *vestarchis*, it may have been these and other matters that prompted Theodora to send for Michael Psellos and to ask him to return to Constantinople.

53. This commentary does not refer to social classes, but to morals and vices.
54. *Chronographia* 54.

The appearance of John Kordakas, the defense lawyer who held the title of *sparthariοs*, is most brief and regrettably condensed. He is shown in action, attempting to raise objections to the *vestarchis'* deposition, and to his demands that Elpidios should pay him for the *protospathariate* which he did not actually want. These arguments, however, were overruled by the judges,[55] who pointed out that the issue had already been settled by the decision of the empress.

The group of four persons or witnesses appearing in the text with their names and titles bring added color and and movement to the trial, and also substantial weight to the *vestarchis'* accusations. They are identified as Theodore Myralides, a consul and master of court ceremonies, the two Xirites brothers: Euphrosinos who held the office of *mystographos* and Gabriel who was a *thesmographos*, and finally someone named Michael who was both a *thesmographos* and an overseer of the costumers in Constantinople.

The social environment dealt with by Michael Psellos is essentially that of the upper classes. On occasions however and for pertinent reasons he refers to the common people. In his *Chronographia* (V. 26), for instance, when treating with the events of 1042 and the uprising of the population against Michael V and his uncle the *Nobilissimos* Constantine, Psellos tells about the anger of the ἀγοραίου γένος, i.e., the common, vulgar species of the market place.[56] In the same work and in a few other places Psellos has provided us with brief but important details about the lower classes.[57] Yet, his and the majority of surviving Byzantine texts appear to be principally concerned with the upper classes, with those referred to as the well-born, splendid, renowned, illustrious (race) [τό εὐγενές, λαμπρόν, ἔνδοξον, ἐπιφανες (γένος)]. In his compositions however, Psellos is critical. He deplores and dislikes immensely the supreficiality and foul characteristics of that social environment,[58] and the conditions that brought them about. But at the same time he would have liked that society to have been better, harmonious and natural.[59]

". . . Then recovering my senses I began to curse this life of ours,[60] wherein strange and terrible happenings come to pass . . ." (. . . εἶτα δή

55. Who only followed Byzantine legal procedure, and since the empress had already given her decision on those matters. Note also that there was more than one judge.

56. The people, the mob, etc., are referred to sometimes (see Attaleiates and other Byzantine writers) as πένιτες (i.e., the poor).

57. *Chronographia* and the *encomion* for his mother.

58. See below, III, E.

59. Also incorporating both Platonic and Christian virtues, which as he mentioned in text I existed in Styliani. At the same time, however, he manifestly knew human nature and had few illusions.

60. The reference here is to his environment: the court, the society and so forth.

συλλεξάμενος τήν ψυχήν ἐπηρασάμην τῆς ἡμετέρας ζωῆς δ' ἥν εἴωθε συμβαίνειν τά καινά τοῦτα καὶ ἄτοπα. . .). The events of 1042–the lamentable fate of Michael V and his uncle Constantine the *nobilissimos*[61]–brought tears and sighs to Michael Psellos. Elsewhere in the same composition he is critical of his social environment and of the imperial court, denouncing their falseness, waste and corruption.

About Constantine IX Monomachos and his reign, which Psellos knew first hand, he wrote: "A healthy animal is not [corrupted] at once, nor by the first symptoms of illness. So it was with the Empire during the reign of Constantine . . . the malady grew worse by degrees, then it reached a crisis, and threw the 'patient' into complete disorder. . . . The Emperor taking little part in the government, sought [instead] to amuse himself with a multitude of pleasures. [By his actions] he was preparing the once healthy body of his Empire for a thousand infirmities, destined to attack it in the years to come. . . ."[62] Then, in an attempt to explain further how those conditions came about, Psellos added: "The causes contributing to this immoderation were the weak characters of the empresses [i.e., Zoe and Theodora], also Constantine's willingness to acquiese to their luxurious laughter-loving habits. . . ."

As for the emperor's (Constantine IXs) role, Psellos pointed out that "At the start of his reign Constantine ruled neither with vigour, nor with discretion . . . Now two things in particular contributed to the hegemony of the Roman [i.e., of the Byzantines, or the empire], namely our system of honors and our wealth. To these a third might be added, the wise control of the other two (along with their prudent distribution). Unfortunately however, Constantine's idea was to empty the treasury and not leave a single 'obol' [meaning a coin of the smallest value]. As to the titles, they were handed out indiscriminately to a multitude of persons (who had no right to them).[63] [They were handed out] to the most vulgar sort, to those who had pestered the Emperor, or had amused him with their witticisms. . . ." Although Psellos was critical of Constantine IX and his reign, he also wrote: "Naturally, I would have wanted my favorite emperor perfect, even if such an attribute could not conceivably be applied to all the others, but [persons and happenings] do not conform to our wishes. . . ."[64]

61. *Chronographia* V. 41.

62. In view of the historical, political, economic and other developments after Constantine IX, the observations of Psellos are penetrating and farsighted. The decline of Byzantium is said to have begun with Constantine IX. See Ostrogorsky; D. Zakinthynos, *Byzance: Etat-Société-Economie* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1973); *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The Chronographia of Michael Psellos*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (London: Penguine Books, 1966); and other historians.

63. Note this phenomenon in the case of *Vestarchis* Michael, where neither prudence nor control was exercised by Constantine IX.

64. *Chronographia* VI. 28 ff.

Other writers, like Michael Attaleiates, a contemporary of Psellos, have also written about Constantine IX and his reign. In his historical work Ἱστορία, Michael Attaleiates, who was a lawyer and had served as judge in Constantinople, wrote: "After having appointed the most oppressive tax collectors, men the people call 'sekretikous' [i.e., finance officials or bureaucrats], he [Constantine IX] imposed exactions (or penalties) on everyone, accusing them falsely of tax defaults. [In such a manner], he was able to drain the marrow from the bones (from those who in some way were well off) by bringing unjust charges against them (and accusing them of all sorts of illegalities). Many were the sighs of those who suffered damages and were oblidged to pay. The prisons too were filled with the accused, and there were continuous lamentations. . . ."

It was noted above that Michael Psellos and his friend John Xiphilinos decided to quit the court of Constantine IX and Constantinople, because of the disorder and confusion that reigned there; also, that after a brief sojourn in the monastery, Psellos was called and returned to the capital and court. There he was active and prominent during the reigns of six subsequent rulers.

In the government of Constantine X Doukas (1059-67), Psellos not only held an important position, but he was also appointed tutor to Prince Michael. Of Constantine's wife, the Empress Eudokia, Psellos wrote: "She was an exceedingly clever woman. . . . I don't know whether any other ever set such an example of wisdom. . . . She neither became a slave of pleasure, nor gave way to voluptuous emotions. . . .[65] But then later Psellos was oblidged to explain the actions and inconsistencies in the woman's life.

While her spouse Constantine X was dying in 1067, the Empress Eudokia swore before him, in the presence of the patriarch, the senate and officials, that she would not marry again, but devote herself to the care and welfare of her six children. But in less than seven months, she married Romanos IV Diogenis who was crowned emperor in 1068. Commenting on those developments, Psellos wrote: "Man is an easily changeable animal (*ἄνθρωπος εὐμετάβλητον ζῶον*) and especially when there are strong external motives for such a turning about. . . ." Later when Romanos IV was defeated with his army at Manzikert in 1071 and he was taken prisoner by the Seljuks, Psellos wrote that the Empress Eudokia was bewildered and ". . . unable to decide what to do next. . . ."[66]

The situation in the court at Constantinople was indeed in convulsion with perfidy and conspiracies were rife. When the news of Romanos' defeat reached the city, there was a struggle for power and the civilian party suc-

65. *Ibid.*, VII. 3, 4 ff.
66. *Ibid.*, VII.

ceeded in placing Michael VII Doukas (1071-78) up on the throne. But thereupon the situation became desperately confused when it was learned that the Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan had released Romanos IV, and the latter was already on his way back to the capital.

The confusion, uncertainties, indecisions and intrigues that took place around the person of Empress Eudokia were complicated by the fact that her husband belonged to one party, while her son Michael VII belonged to the other. Then a delegation was organized and sent out to meet Romanos IV. But he was misled, deceitfully blinded and eliminated from the scene. With the establishment of Michael VII's rule the situation changed for Michael Psellos. Although he had been the new emperor's tutor and had written warmly about him, praising his ". . . extraordinary intelligence. . . excessive modesty. . .," the young ruler pushed him aside. Later, when that incompetant sovereign was forced to abdicate in 1078, Psellos too disappeared from the scene.

Michael Psellos' critical attitude towards the social environment of his times is amply expressed in a number of his compositions. In the first text above he expresses his dislike for its superficiality, its lack of modesty and even such practices carried on by the *νυμφαγωγοί* (usually carried on by elderly women, or others, who sought to bring maidens and young men together.[67] We have also seen that Psellos has provided us with considerable information about his social environment, its customs and outlook, as found in the *encomion* composed for his mother. While telling about his family he wrote: "As to my father, he had a gentleness [of character] and anyone could approach and speak with him. Only mother (because of her great virtue) would speak with him, not as an equal to an equal, but as if from a lower standing (. . . *οὐ δε ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἀλλά ἐκ τοῦ ἐλλάτονος*. . .),[and this not because she was embarassed in front of him], but conducted herself according to the older traditions (*ἀρχαίαν διάταξιν*).[68] Psellos also mentioned that his mother did not care for matters of the market place, nor about those happenings that aggitate the people [mob] (. . . *οὐδ' εἴ τις εἴη δῆμος κυμαίνων* . . .), for she concerned herself with her home and kept her ears closed [to all extravagant gossip].

As a parent, educator and professor of philosophy, Michael Psellos was much concerned with youth, and the troublesome conditions of his social

67. Psellos' reasons for not liking them is not clear. Note, the practice is still carried out in Greece and in Greek communities around the world by *προξενίτρες* or the contemporary term used for the *νομφαγωγόυς*.

68. The comment is interesting for the words "according to the older customs" may be variously interpreted. They may refer to a respect attitude towards the head of the family; while it may also relate to social status. The first mentioned attitude existed in Byzantium on all social levels.

environment. His commentary and criticism show a solicitude and the hope that all may improve and move towards the better. In the first text (oration), Psellos told with considerable joy and pride of Styliani's intellectual abilities, and progress in learning, while in other writings he also praised the advancement of his students.[69] Elsewhere in some essays, he appears impatient and disheartened as he reprimanded those who would come late to class, those who would chatter in the classroom during a lecture, or those who would go to sleep. Because, he pointed out, these students would prefer to waste their time in taverns, to spend their precious hours watching *θέατρα* (literally theatre, but meaning side shows about the Hippodrome), or to pursue other pleasures Constantinople had to offer. In one essay,[70] which Michael Psellos may have read to his class at the School of Philosophy, he pointed out with annoyance to those students who drifted in, because they said "it was raining": "Yet I am unable to sympathise with such conduct, nor do I intend to suspend the Logos [Philosophy, Knowledge] between your wanting to learn and your [actual] indifference. . . ."

Although Psellos did not compose as other Byzantine writers[71] *βασιλικός ἀνδριάς*, i.e., a model of a perfect imperial ruler, he did draw a sketch or model of a perfect Byzantine maiden. This he moulded out of Styliani's qualities as she was prior to her illness with her "natural beauty, with her modesty," and other exemplary virtues. It is also likely that the maiden's attributes were elaborated upon and blended with ancient Greek and Christian elements, in order to create an image of Perfection, Goodness, Modesty and Harmony.

In the memorandum we have seen that the treatment of Elpidios by the judges who felt sorry for him, was unusually considerate; while the *vestarchis* was handled abruptly. It was he who was in fact responsible for the events; note the introduction to the memorandum and developments leading up to the litigation. The *vestarchis*, for all his knowledge and experience, was unable to "see," since he lacked "Foresight," but also understanding of human character, the weaknesses and inflexible character of the young man he chose to be his future son-in-law.

Although the inclinations of Elpidios were not a rarity in the court of the Macedonian dynasty, his conduct nevertheless must have been extravagant and his vices known to all. Yet in a court where eunuchs, immorality and corruption were rampant, it must seem curious that Empress Theodora in her writ referred to Elpidios as ". . .the living image of a depraved character"

69. See the essays and discourses of Michael Psellos (text I, those complementing John Italos and others) praising Styliani and his students for their work and progress in learning.

70. See my work, "Student Life in Eleventh-Century Constantinople."

71. See the *ἀνδριάς* of Nikiforos Blemmydes and of other Byzantine writers.

(*καὶ στήλην ἔμψυχον κακοήθευς ψυχῆς τόν* Ἐλπίδιων *ἀπειργασατο*).

Although the social environment mirrored in the writings of Michael Psellos is that of the upper classes, the nobility and upper-middle class along with the imperial court of eleventh-century Constantinople, these represented only a small portion of the empire's total population; it was, nevertheless, these groups whose ways, tastes and traditions that shaped in a great measure the social and cultural environment of Europe and the Near East during the Middle Ages. At the same time, the literature emanating from Constantinople–its types and style, along with the histories, chronicles, and lives–greatly influenced the subsequent understanding of Byzantium and its society.

A closer examination of surviving evidence will, however, show fundamental social differences; all the Byzantine centuries were not the same, nor were the social and other developments of one "hue or character." Indeed the eleventh century was in a political, social and cultural sense a particularly troubled and crucial period. Events after 1025 amply show this. Internal developments during the reigns of Michael V, Constantine IX, and Michael VII prepared the way, as Michael Psellos has written, for a ". . . multitude of disasters that were to come. . . ."[72]

It was noted above that, the political and economic control of eleventh-century Byzantium was contested by two groups or parties, the civilian (Πολιτικόν) and the military (*Στρατιωτικόν*). The heterogeneous composition of those two parties, their political, economic, ethnic, and even cultural similarities and differences, divided and pitted the one against the other, and these questions have been examined by a number of historians.[73] These internal factors and the destructive armed conflict that followed wasted men, material and property, led to the neglect and opposition to the armed forces, and proved disastrous for Byzantium as its enemies–the Seljuks, Normans, Patzinaks and others–profited at its expense.

Michael Psellos, who belonged to the civilian party was prominent and active in the events of the period. He also held important posts in the governments of several emperors, representing both the civilian and the military factions, and understood the importance to Byzantium of the military party. He even admired some of its leaders. He was also aware, as his writings show, of the serious differences and potentials of those two parties. He saw the deterioration of one and the able, dynamic qualities of the other; he noted the attempt of the one to undo and destroy the other and to replace

72. *Chronographia* VI. 29 ff.

73. See Ostrogorsky, pp. 316 ff.: and S. Vryonis, "Byzantium: The Social Basis of Decline in the Eleventh Century," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 2 (1959), 159-75.

its vigorous action with passive policies as payments of tribute made to the enemy, while he acknowledged the capable military and political leadership of the other. But at the same time the civil conflict only served to undo the strength of the state leaving it helpless and without capable leaders.

During his active life as a civil servant, a member of the government, an official, senator, statesman and intellectual leader, Michael Psellos was intimately linked with the upper classes of Constantinople and the civilian party. Also, although he occasionally mentions persons of the other classes, his life and work are manifestly linked with the upper classes. Yet both his philosophic interests and his Christian background were in conflict with that social environment and he had nothing good to say about it. For these reasons, it is unlikely that he was either comfortable or happy in that circle, or had many friends among those upper classes.[74] He was respected nevertheless, even admired by his rivals and enemies; but while the people of the court and higher officials of the church suspected his learning, others envied or were afraid of him.

In the *encomion* for his friend and former teacher John Mavropous,[75] Psellos wrote: "Who showed himself so mighty in front of temptations? Who was able to restrain his passions defeating those barbarians who attack from the outside and set up a trophy for his triumph. . .?" It should be noted from the study of Michael Psellos' compositions that he found examples of modesty and virtue everywhere except in the upper classes, but did not stress these shortcomings if he was writing of the imperial family "under command" and supervision. In the *encomion* for his mother[76] Psellos wrote that although she was not of the "illustrious race" (*εὐγενές γένος*), she was in her life and work both "illustrious and remarkable. For those qualities are not of the exterior, but well forth from one's inside world. . . ."

At the same time we find Psellos critical of his close friends, some of whom were not of the upper classes. In a letter to his friend John Xiphilinos who had recently (in 1064) been appointed Patriarch of Constantinople, Psellos wrote: "For each virtue, when accompanied by haughtiness and arrogance my brother,[77] turns into the worst of wickedness, and this is the result of ignorance. This fault is condemned, as you well know, by my philosopher, i.e., by Plato."

The above information and commentaries about Michael Psellos and his attitudes towards his social environment do not intend in any way to repre-

74. This is shown by the attacks against him by courtiers, rivals, "sycophants" and others mentioned in his writings. It is also likely that persons in his environment did not care for Psellos' aggressiveness or some of his actions.

75. Sathas, V, 153 ff.

76. *Ibid.*

77. The term was used since Psellos was addressing a fellow monk.

sent him as a reformer, moralist or as a model of virtue. Unquestionably, he was a complex, dynamic and controversial personality, but also he was atypical of his environment. He was one of the most important intellectual leaders of the Middle Ages, and it is unlikely that he had any actual illusions about himself.

When his work, his creative contributions to learning, to philosophy and to the cultural environment of Europe are examined alongside his limitations, accusations, and questionable activities in the history of Byzantium; or when the personality of Michael Psellos is examined in its totality, there will then emerge a distinctive and remarkable individual, whose life and work are worthy of closer study. At the same time, in the above essay, the society of his time—the upper classes and others—will appear in a clearer perspective. For it has already been seen in the above summary notations, that his social environment figured prominently in his writings, teaching, and thought.

F. *Language (Byzantine Medieval Greek)*

Although the work and expressions of Michael Psellos were thoroughly permeated with ancient Greek influences, from the Homeric epics to Attic prose and poetry, to the Hellenistic and later compositions, neither his language, his style, nor his literary forms are slavish imitations of those sources of inspiration. While he had a profound admiration for and interest in Hellenism and sought to preserve both philosophic, literary and other ancient Greek values; and while he borrowed and employed various elements in his own compositions and teaching, these details he reshaped to fit his own thought, literary style and personality.

These characteristics are evident in his longer prose works, e.g., the *encomion* for his mother, the funeral oration for his daughter, the *Chronographia*, and others. In these and other writings his preoccupations with philosophy and Hellenism can be seen. Furthermore, in the *encomion* for his mother Michael Psellos tells about these interests and of ancient Greek literature in particular: "I am delighted by the art of words, by the [orderly] arrangements of their topics (ὑποθέσεων) and their greatly loved (ὑπεραγαπή-κεω) beauty that flowers. And I wing over these [flower-filled] fields of Reason like a honey bee. Then I go on to compose honeyed writings [of my own] (μελιτουργῶ). The life, writings and activities of Michael Psellos were directly and intimately linked with the Greek language, its literary traditions, with rhetoric and above all with philosophy. In his own times, Psellos was renowned for his oratorical excellence, for his attainments in the art of writing, and for his efforts and contributions to philosophy, and this influence can be traced into the fifteenth century.

The representation on Michael Psellos as a Sophist, i.e., a teacher of philosophy and rhetoric, in the satiric dialogue *Timarion* has already been mentioned above. Those two domains are central to his thought and work,

and this is evident in his writings, while he has also explained that they preoccupied him considerably: ". . . I seek to harmonize [Philosophy and Rhetoric] with each other. . . ."[78] Those preoccupations are apparent in his works, particularly in his eulogies, history, discourses, and letters, where influences from the pre-Socratics through Proclos and others are mixed with ancient Greek literature and oratory. But along with such influences from the Homeric epics and Aesop, there are others from Herodotos, Thucydides, Hippocraties, ancient Greek drama, Demosthenes and Isocrates along with Lucian, Libanios and others. At the same time there are also influences from the *Bible,* Church oratory, hymnology and Christian poetry

Some of these influences have already been noted in the two texts above, where they have been moulded into a literary style that is characteristic of the author. The funeral oration for Styliani is manifestly a work of art, and as a literary composition it belongs to the category of epidectic oratory. At the same time, its language is filled with Classical Greek elements, among them such Homeric words as: *λευκώλενος*,*καλλίσφορος*, *ἑλκεξίπεπλος*, *ἐρατεινή*, and *ἀργυρòπεζα*, that have been used (in text I) with their original meaning. From other sources there are such words as: *ἐνδεσμόχειρ*, *ἐρυθροβαφής*, *εὐειδής*, *στιλβολάμπο*„ and *προσλαλιά*; and as well; are expressions borrowed from Aesop as *τό τῶν κολιῶν πεὶσεται*, and others from common sources as *λάβρος πυρετός*..

Variable, subjective and sorrowful though Psellos' funeral oration may be, it is well developed and mobile in its language and oratorical style. The development is flexible and rich in its manner of presentation, while its imagery, along with the colorful and harmonious flow of narrative, are characteristic of the "Master's" hand. Inevitably however, and for modern tastes in particular, that language is not easy to read and presents a number of problems for the Classicist as well as for the student of Modern Greek. Among these difficulties is the Byzantine and Psellos' tendency to over-embellish with expressions and adjectives, or to repeat the same idea, but differently expressed, without adding anything further to the topic. While the practice may have been employed for the sake of emphasis, it actually slows down the narrative and impedes the flow of thought. Despite these and a few other minor obstacles, the "funeral oration" of Michael Psellos is however an attractive work of literature. In the text it is referred to as an *ἐπικήδειος* (also a *δεσποτικός*) *λόγος*, i.e., a funereal, and a loftly imposing oration. Yet, while he follows closely the form and spirit of these literary prose traditions, Psellos at the same time develops them, as he introduces further elements from Elegiac, Epidectic, and even from church oratory.

78. Sathas, IV, 121, and V, 476.

Different in spirit, treatment and form is another lament Psellos probably wrote on command. It was composed for the emperor's mistress, a woman known only as Sklerina who died in 1044. The work consists of 446 iambic verses and is entitled: Τοῦ ὑπερτίμου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ψελλοῦ στίχοι ἰαμβικοί ἐις τήν τελευτήν τῆς Εκληραίνης (*Iambic Verses for the Decease of Sklerina, Composed by the Most Honored Constantine Psellos*). It was written as if it were addressed to Sklerina by her mother, and while the language is rich and formal, it nevertheless lacks life and movement.

The second text, "memorandum," is entirely different in form, content and intention than the first. As it was written for the Empress Theodora, it contains all the ornamentation (wording, flattery, and formalities) belonging to such a work; but at the same time, there are other developments, interesting details and observations on people, on society, and about Byzantine legal procedures. The Greek language here is simpler than that of the first text, but nevertheless it is well written and attractive. Professor R. Guilland has called it ". . . un joli morceau de litterature juridique. . . ."[79] Although both texts reveal in their language, internal organization, philosophic reflections, and in other details the hand and outlook of Michael Psellos; and although they are different in their forms, substance and intent, they both belong nevertheless to the domain and traditions of rhetoric. The first composition is actually a panegyric and an epidectic discourse, while the second belongs to legalistic oratorical prose. And it is their particular details, expressions, language, and philosophical reflections, that give each work its distinctive character and interest.

Both E. Renauld, in his *Etude sur la langue et le style de Psellos,*[80] and also in his French translation and study of Psellos' *Chronographia*,[81] and E. R. A. Sewter reflected upon the language and compositions of Michael Psellos. In his English translation of the *Chronographia*,[82] Sewter in particular stressed: "No Byzantine was a better craftsman of words, though a few wrote better Greek. . . . He is the most difficult of authors to translate; yet the dialect is vital and usually unaffected. . . . Moreover, Psellos has one saving grace, a charming sense of humor. . . ."[83]

[CONCLUSION]

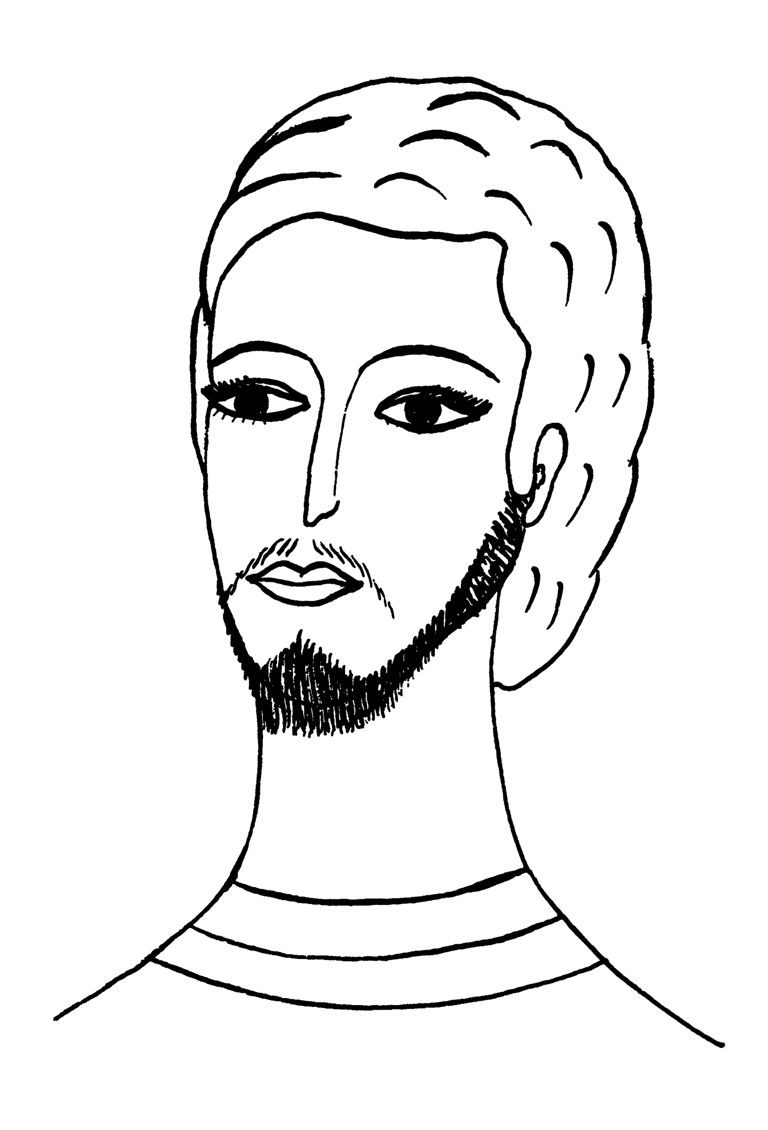
79. Guilland, "Un compte-rendu."

80. E. Renauld, *Etude sur la langue et le style de Psellos* (Paris: A. Picard, 1920).

81. *Idem, Michael Psellos, Chronographia ou l'Histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976-1077)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Budé "Belles Lettres," 1926-28).

82. See above, n. 62.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 18.



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NOTE

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*Mary's Descent into Hell: A Note on the Psalter Oxford, Christ Church Arch. W. Gr. 61**

Recently, an interesting Byzantine psalter of the year 1391, now in Oxford, *cod. Christ Church Arch. W. gr. 61,* illustrated with three full page, badly preserved miniatures, was brought to the attention of students of Byzantine art by Professor Vokotopoulos who discussed extensively the formal and iconographic problems of the codex and its Constantinopolitan origin.[1]

The frontispiece, fol. 1v, portraying David as the author of the book, follows the tradition of the author portrait common in Byzantine art. The remaining two miniatures, fols. 102v and 103r, do not serve as illustrations proper of a particular text in the psalter (Figs. 1, 2). One facing the other, they form one composition, laid out in the form of a diptych the theme of which can be described as the presentation of a monk by the family name of Kaloeidas to the enthroned Christ by the Virgin Mary. The Mother of God, inscribed the ΟΞΕΙΑ ΑΝΤΙΛ [Η]Ψ[Ι]C (Quick Assistance), and the monk are represented on the left hand page, while the enthroned Christ, named the ΑΙ[Λ]ΕΗΜΩΝ (Merciful), is on the opposite page. Vokotopoulos has rightly stressed the uniqueness of the iconography of this "presentation-intercession" scene. Mary is not simply presenting a monk, probably the donor of the psalter, to Christ.[2] She is actually holding him from his left hand and is pulling

* In a conversation I had with Dr. I. Spatharakis of Leiden, late last spring, I learnt that he had an article on this Oxford Psalter ready for publication. It turned out that Dr. Spatharakis was not familiar with the material contained in this note which is part of my still unpublished book, *Themes of East Christian Civilization.* He kindly suggested that I write it down as a sequel or an appendix to his article which he generously let me read. I accepted his suggestion and prepared the present note. But in the meantime Professor Vokotopoulos' study on the Psalter appeared in which he discussed the manuscript from the same point of view as Dr. Spatharakis in his now unpublished article. Likewise Professor Vokotopoulos does not touch at all upon the material of this note. The photographs are published courtesy of Professor Kurt Weitzmann of Princeton who studied and photographed the manuscript several years ago.

1. P. L. Vokotopoulos, "Ἕνα ἄγνωστο χειρόγραφο τοῦ κωδικογράφου Ἰωάσαφ καὶ οἱ Μικρογραφίες του: τὸ ψαλτήριο, *Christ Church Arch. W. gr. 61," Deltion christianikes archaeologikes etaireias*, per 4, 8 (1975-76), 79-198, pls. 100-04.

2. This portrait is not included in the excellent book of I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts,* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976). It will be included in a supplement he is preparing. In this book the reader will find several examples of presentation-intercession scenes.

him out of a sarcophagus with great force. The unknown illustrator has based this part of the composition on an Anastasis scene of which the principal characters, Christ and Adam, have been replaced by the Mother of God and the portrait of the monk. Vokotopoulos has discussed this iconographic motif within the concept of Mary's intercession in general terms.

The application, however, of this Anastasis iconography to Mary deserves a closer examination which will help us see its larger implications within the important question of the cult of Mary in Byzantium. The composition does not reflect the peculiarity of an artist who utilizes the theme of the Descent into Hell in order to stress the role of Mary in man's salvation. Nor is he thinking of the Last Day only to which the Anastasis motif certainly refers and of Mary's supplication for humanity on that day. In Last Judgment compositions one sees the usual *Deësis* scene with Mary and John the Baptist on either side of the enthroned Christ who shows his pierced hands, testimonies of his love for man. In the Christ Church miniature, and this is its unique element, the Virgin is represented as coming out of Hell, bringing the monk from darkness into light.

In fact, this Anatasis iconography, applied to Mary, is based on a widely spread literary tradition. It derives from an apocryphal text which describes in great detail the Descent of the Virgin into Hell. It is entitled: *The Apocalypse of the Virgin, All-holy Theotokos; about Hell.* In other versions the title is rendered as, *The Apocalypse of the Virgin who descended into Hell and saw how the sinners were punished.* The text is known through a number of manuscripts. Tischendorf singled out three codices which were kept in Oxford, Vienna and Venice.[3] Gidel and Pernot added three more manuscripts of which the two, dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were located in Paris, and the third, a later version, was found in the village Pyrgi of the island of Chios. Three other variants were known to E. Legrand. The text of the Paris manuscripts (*Bibl. Nat., codd. gr. 395* and *suppl. gr. 136*) and that of the *Chios codex* only are known to me through the publication of Pernot who has not, however, discussed the dissemination of the text and has not attempted to discover the exact number of extant manuscripts. Although there is no critical edition (it would have been welcome if one were to undertake the task), the present evidence shows that the three versions, represented by the two Paris and Chois codices, stem from one archetype. At present it is impossible to ascertain the date of this archetype but Pernot suggested, and probably he is right, that this *Descent of the Virgin into Hell* was created possibly in the Middle Byzantine period.

3. C. von Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1896), pp.

We bring the main points of this text here, in so far as they contribute to our understanding of the Christ Church miniature. The Virgin is so much distressed for those condemned in Hell that she decides to descend into Hell and see for herself their sufferings. Before she undertakes her journey her role in the scheme of man's salvation is stressed by the unknown author. She is greeted by Michael, the archangel of the Lord, and four hundred angels, as follows: "Hail Holy Virgin, Mother of God, Reflection of the Father, Dwelling Place of the Son, the Command of the Holy Ghost, Hail the Adoration of the Angels, hail the Preaching of the Prophets; hail you who are higher than all, reaching the throne of God." (§ 2). She is guided by Michael through Hell and the various punishments are described in detail (§ 4-19). In each case the sinners are covered by darkness which is lifted in the presence of Mary. As she goes from one area to another her own compassion increases, especially as she is confronted with a group of sinners who have lost the faculty of speech because of darkness. At the end of the journey Mary refuses to depart from Hell. She asks Michael to leave her there in order to share the punishments of mankind. She must do this–she says–because " the sinners have been called sons of my Son" (§ 20). At last she ascends from Hell and runs to the throne of God, stretches out her hands, lifts "her eyes towards the holy throne and her merciful Son," and she pleads in tears: " 'Lord, be merciful, for I have seen their punishments and I cannot endure any more . . . for they [the sinners] are work of Your hands and their entire race blesses my name on every occasion. . . .' And the Lord said to her, 'Listen, All-holy. No man who invokes you will fail in his petition, whether in heaven or on earth; he will be saved through you' " (§ 21). Christ convinced by His mother grants rest to the sinners for a period starting from Easter and ending on All Saints' day (§ 25). Finally the Virgin is taken to Paradise where she sees the just and where the angels relate to the Apostles the events in Hell (§ 26).[4]

In the text, trust in God's love is strong and so is the belief in Mary's intercession. But the underlying theme is man's deification. Man is the son of the Son of God and cannot be condemned to eternal suffering. For us important is Mary's Descent into Hell and her ascent and pleading before the throne of God. She wishes to snatch all sinners away from the darkness of hell.

The Christ Church miniature must be seen against this background. Even the epithet "Merciful" for Christ is not chosen accidentally. To be sure the scene is not a literal illustration of the apocryphal text which led the donor or the artist to utilize and adapt an Anastasis Composition to Mary's Descent into Hell. It is, however, a document showing the importance of this tradition. It gives us an insight into popular piety and the cult of Mary.

4. H. Pernot, ed., "Descente de la Vierge aux Enfers d'après les manuscrits grecs de Paris," *Revue des études grecques,* 13 (1900), 233-57.

This tradition was widely spread as it is shown by the dissemination of the text to Russia and its persistence down to modern times. The Apocalypse of the Virgin was known to Dostoevskii who used it in *The Brothers Karamazov.* It is mentioned by Ivan Karamazov in his conversation with his brother Alesha which is about Ivan's poem, entitled *The Grand Inquisitor.* Although the work is well known, a few pertinent verses deserve to be quoted here: ". . . even as far back as the Tartar period, there exists, for instance, a monastic little poem (of course, translated from the Greek) called *Our Lady's Going Through Torments,* with scenes and a boldness not inferior to those of Dante's. . . . And our Lady; astounded and weeping, kneels before the throne of God and prays for mercy on all in hell . . . without distinction. . . . It ends by Her obtaining from God a yearly respite from the torments, from Good Friday to Trinity Sunday . . . ."[5]

The anonymous writer of the Apocalypse of the Mother of God follows a much older belief associated with the role of Mary in man's salvation and with the concept that "there is no measure for God's love." In Byzantine art this belief had found various expressions. Above all it was embodied in various intercession scenes, which had their literary counterparts, like, for example, three little-known poems by John Mauropous, the eleventh-century bishop of Euchaita, which were inspired by a *Deëis* representation.[6] In the course of time Mary's intercession is changed into action. She is allowed to descend into hell in order to save the sinners. The Oxford miniature, although a unique example, reflects this spirit and must be placed within the development and history of Mariolatry in Byzantium.[7]

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5. F. M. Dostoevsky, *The Grand Inquisitor,* trans. S. S. Koteliansky (London: E. Mathews & Marrot, 1930), pp. 2 and 3.

6. See J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina,* 161 vols. in 166 (Paris: Lutetiae J. P. Migne, 1857-66), CXX, col. 1178.

7. Cf. G. Galavaris, "A Question of Mariolatry in Byzantium," *The New Review,* 4, No. 4 (1964), 1-15.





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REVIEW ARTICLE/CRITIQUE EXHAUSTIF

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A Byzantine Diptych

Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople. Letters. Greek Text and English Translation by R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Consilio Societatis Internationalis Studiie Byzantinis Provehendis Destinatae Editum. Vol. VI. Dumbarton Oaks Texts II. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, 1973. xxxix + 631 pp. $38.00.

Lucian Lamza. *Patriarch Germanos I. von Konstantinopel (715-730). Versuch einer endgültigen chronologischen Fixierung des Lebens und Wirkens des Patriarchen.* Das östliche Christentum. Neue Folge, Heft 27. Würzburg: Augustinus–Verlag, 1975. xxxv + 248 pp. 2 illustrations. DM 30.80.

The two titles under review, though vastly different in content and approach, are eloquent reminders of a commonplace in Byzantine studies–the major role religion played in the life of the empire. Characteristically, Germanus I and Nicholas I, the patriarchs of Constantinople who are the subject of these works, belong as much to the secular as to the ecclesiastical life of the empire. Both were major forces in Byzantine politics both foreign and domestic (one was actually head of the empire for nearly a year), as well as key figures in the life of the Church not only for their considerable canonical and theological insight but for their refusal to submit to the imperial caprice in matters of faith (in itself no small achievement). Not surprisingly, both have joined the fellowship of saints and are commemorated in the *Synaxarion* of the Orthodox Church on 12 and 15 May respectively. But their historical importance is further enhanced by their literary and epistolary output. Germanus' writings, for example, are precious doctrinal and historical documentation for the origins of the iconoclastic question, while Nicholas' letters are not only a private but an official correspondence and thus doubly valuable.

The Commission for the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* of the Association Internationale des Etudes Byzantines has in recent years edited or re-edited a number of Byzantine texts, in addition to the seven in press and the dozen or more now in preparation.[1] The present long-promised edition of

1. For a summary of the state of publication, consult *Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines* 2 (1975), 203-04.

patriarch Nicholas' letters by R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink is volume 6 of this enterprise and is a welcome addition given the stature and skill of its editors, the impeccalbe work characteristic of the *Corpus Fontium,* and the dearth of literature available on the patriarchs of Constantinople. In the main, the value of this critical edition lies in its completeness since it supersedes all previous editions and even supplements the fundamental internal criticism of the letters done by V. Grumel in 1936.[2] For the latter in fact omitted twenty-two letters of the Patmos collection in addition to the twenty published since by J. Darrouzès.[3]

The edition and the translation, which faces the original of letters 1-163, is the work of the late Prof. Jenkins; Prof. Westerink's contribution is the edition and translation of letters 164-190, the introduction (which includes a brief resumé of Nicholas' career, a discussion of the chronology of the letters, a description of the major independent collection and stray items), and a review of the partial extant editions; the invaluable summaries of each letter—the edition's own *Regestes*—is also Prof. Westerink's work. It replaces the commentary projected by Prof. Jenkins before his death.

Because Nicholas' letters were in fact never much copied in the medieval period the manuscript tradition is more simple than is usually the case, a fact which makes the editor's work less difficult. Indeed there is only one independent manuscript, *Patmos 176,* which contains most of the letters and from which the *editio princeps* was made in 1844 by A. Mai. (The translation of this edition in Migne is characterized by Westerink as "useless".) All the same, problems of chronology abound. Yet, the solutions that are offered, though often tentative, are a tribute to the editorial skill of Prof. Westerink. Essentially, his conclusion is that the collection is posterior to 912; with the exception of letters 3, 4, and 161, the entire collection belongs to Nicholas' second patriarchate (912-25) and not to his first (901-07). The editor concludes that the correspondence of the first patriarchate was either destroyed by Nicholas himself or seized by the authorities after his arrest. This being so, the new dating is a major revision of Grumel who saw fit to place sixteen of the letters in the first patriarchate. Not a single letter (including 3, 4, and 161) can in fact be shown with certainty to belong to that period. This however, is not to sully Grumel's work for it still remains the groundwork for the chronology of the present volume.

Nicholas is of course chiefly remembered for his involvement in the events surrounding Leo VI's fourth marriage (the familiar tetragamy affair) whose

2. V. Grumel, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople,* I, 2 (Istanbul: Socii Assumptionistae Chalcedonenses, 1932-).

3. J. Darrouzès, "Un recueil épistolaire byzantin: le manuscrit de Patmos 706," *Revue de études byzantines,* 14 (1965), 87-121; and *ibid., Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1960).

complications have been explored elsewhere by Prof. Jenkins.[4] The major hurdle was the patriarch's refusal to recognize the legality of the marriage, a fact for which he was eventually forced to resign his throne. On his restoration, however, Nicholas again denounced the marriage and on 9 July 920 he had the Church solemnly proclaim the celebrated *Tomus of Union* in which fourth marriages were banned.

In all this *oikonomia* figures very prominently and Nicholas' letters remain invaluable for our understanding of a concept which the Byzantines themselves never defined. An examination of the linguistic and historical evolution of the notion (Lampe's *Patristic Lexicon* offers more than thirty definitions) would indeed be rewarding. Suffice it to say, the matter cannot be treated exclusively in church-state terms, as the true source of all Byzantine political ideology[5] or as a give-and-take elastic attitude in matters of Church discipline. Such an approach ignores the soteriological and penitential dimension[6] which, for example is fundamental to Nicholas' understanding of the term. "Dispensation is a concession unto salvation, saving him who has sinned, stretching out the arm of help, and lifting up the fallen from his fall; not permitting him to lie where he has fallen, or rather pushing him toward a miserable pit. Dispensation is an imitation of the Divine Mercy, a snatching out of the jaws of the beast that howls against us the man who is about to be devoured by those jaws of destruction" (letter 32, p. 237).

Historians for the most part have been reluctant to exploit Byzantine letters, because, it is said, they are long-winded displays of oratorical virtuosity and so contain little of historical value; yet even so, as more of this *genre* is published or re-edited historians will come to realize that it is more than a tissue of literary pyrotechnics and must be placed among the historical sources, as it has been done, for example, for another unexploited *genre*: Byzantine hagiography. We have four major collections of letters by patriarchs—Nicholas I, Photius, Gregory II, Athanasius I—and all are indisputably historical sources of the highest order.

One more example from Nicholas' letters will suffice to demonstrate the historical value of this collection now at the historian's disposal. In a private conversation, the emperor Romanus Lecapenus was indiscreet enough to complain to the patriarch that the disasters of the regency were the result of God's displeasure—an argument long familiar to the Byzantines who had

4. Especially in *Hellenika*, 14 (1956), 293-372; and *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 16 (1952), 231-41.

5. As it has been done recently by the distinguished French Byzantinist Hélène Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin*, Collection SUP, 20 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1975), 129-47.

6. See the unpublished paper read at the 1975 American Historical Association convention in Atlanta, Georgia, by J. Erickson, "Byzantine Ecclesiology and the State: the Problem of *oikonomia.*"

heard it from the iconoclasts in the eighth century. The patriarch's non-theological reply, that military success is not dependent on theological but military causes, is, for my part at least, an insightful comment on the great patriarch's statesmanship and objectivity (too often we think of ecclesiastics as too involved in theology to be objective or pragmatic). "In the days of the lord Leo you know that Mapas and his followers came around, and were united in the Church, and, at a time of profound peace *in the Church,* Thessalonica and Tauromenon were lost. And why? Because carelessness had been shown here beforehand. . . . This (my Son) you should consider and understand, . . . and you will learn by personal experience what it is that gives our state good fortune or ill" (letter 75, p. 327).

The work on Patriarch Germanus unlike that on Nicholas is not a collection of source material but an exhaustive study of those sources relating to the life and career of Patriarch Germanus, who was, as is well enough known, the first defender of images and the first victim of iconoclasm. (It is not without significance that the patriarch's portrait in the southwest gallery of St. Sophia was done not long after the restoration of images in 843.) In any case, it is decidedly not a biography in any strict sense.

Chapter 1 deals with the state of the sources such as those of Theophanes, Nicephorus and the *Vita* of the patriarch; chapter 2 is concerned with Germanus' life before he became patriarch, the chronology of his birth, his family, and his election to the See of Cyzicus; chapter 3 revolves around Germanus as patriarch (715-30), his relations with the Emperor Anastasius II, with Leo III, and the phenomenon of iconoclasm; chapter 4 focuses on his abdication (January 730), his death, his condemnation (as *xylolatres*) in 754, his rehabilitation in 787, and his cult; chapter 5 concludes the work with a critical edition of the Greek text of the patriarch's *Vita* followed by a German translation. The bibliography which preceeds the five chapters is exceptionally complete and includes both the Western and the Slavic literature on the subject.

Although Germanus' liturgical, hymnographical, and homeletic compositions are of first importance they have nevertheless rarely taken precedence over his doctrinal compositions and his role in the epic struggle of iconoclasm. His letters[7] for example are directly related to what has become the central focus of iconoclastic scholarship: the origins of the movement. Regrettably, this subject is treated only indirectly by Prof. Lamza who does not deal at length either with the question of the origins of iconoclasm or the patriarch's iconology. True, the author's goal is quite different. All the same, this valuable study would have surely benefitted by a chapter on these issues,

7. J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina,* 161 vols. in 166 (Paris: Lutetiae, 1857-66), XCVIII, cols. 135-232.

particularly because of Lamza's obvious knowledge of the materials.

Other topics, however, are discussed such as the patriarch's "translation" from the See of Cyzicus to that of Constantinople; his role at the council of 712 when he was pressured to renounce the decisions of 681 on monotheletism; and his subsequent condemnation of monotheletism on his nomination to the patriarchate. Lastly, we are informed that the patriarch's relics are today venerated in France (Bort-les-Orgues) where they were transferred by the Crusaders who stole them from Constantinople in 1204.

The edition of the patriarch's *Vita* in which he is styled as "confessor" is a fine addition to the increasing number of available hagiographic texts of the iconoclastic period. This particular pre-Metaphrastic document was probably written shortly after the settlement of 843 when a flourish of these works became available which were designed to glorify the "neo-martyrs" for the cause of the holy images. The edition supersedes the one originally published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus since it takes into consideration several manuscripts not used by the Greek scholar. Two minor corrections may be noted: *ἡγεῖτο* not *ἥγητο* (p. 208, line 111) and *ἐλάττους* not *ἐλλάτους* (p. 222, line 321).

A final observation. Several years ago Prof. Westerink, in the introduction to his edition of Nicetas Magistros' letters, took the opportunity to expose the problems of editing Byzantine texts and to indicate in general how necessary the solution of problems of chronology, of identification of authors, and of origins are, if a source is to be used at all by scholarship. Historians and scholars of the Byzantine Church will find much for which to be grateful in the diptych here reviewed.

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BYZANTINE STUDIES/ETUDES BYZANTINES, 4, Part 2 (1977), 200-24.

BOOK REVIEWS/COMPTES RENDUS

Peter Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken: Chronica Byzantina Breviora*. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 12. 1 Teil: *Einleitung und Text.* Wien: Verlag der Österreichissche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975. 688 pp.

By the time this review is printed, the second and third parts of Schreiner's *Kleinchroniken* will have appeared. These will contain historical and philological commentaries, German translations of selected chronicles, and comprehensive indices. Part 1, which is under consideration here, contains the texts of 116 short chronicles, each with an introduction explaining what is known about its authorship, manuscript tradition, previous editions and translations (if any). In addition, there is a brief general introduction in which Professor Schreiner defines the literary genre of "short chronicle" (βραχέα χρονικά, Kleinchroniken, Kurzchroniken, etc.), and sets forth the methods by which he classified and edited the texts included in this volume. Because I do not have on hand the volume which will contain the commentaries upon the texts, this review will necessarily be limited in scope, as I wish to avoid "second-guessing" Professor Schreiner.

Chronicles, of course, are not history, though they contain materials from which history may be written. *Au fond,* a chronicle is a list of events–it can hardly be called a narrative–arranged according to a rigid chronological framework. In the Middle Ages, the framework was usually a year-by-year one, although one also encounters chronicles arranged by reigns of rulers, such as No. 14 in the present volume. Even when a chronicle can be attributed to a single author, it lacks artistic unity. And since it is a list of events, or "notices", rather than a connected narrative, it is difficult to demonstrate relationships among historical events in chronicle format, though a scholar using data provided by chronicles can do so. Occasionally, one runs into a chronicle by an author sophisticated enough to raise it above the limitations of the genre, or even consciously to use it as a literary artifice. None of the chronicles in this book can claim that distinction.

What are the standards for inclusion in this volume? Obviously, the chronicles must be brief. However, Professor Schreiner draws the line at works with just one notice unless they are surviving fragments of lost originals. To these, the entire final section of the book ("Kleinchronikenfragmente") is dedicated. Schreiner does not include any chronicle whose notices begin after 1540, the year of the fall of Monemvasia, because after that date all the lands of the former Byzantine Empire except Crete were in the hands of the Turks. He does include all short chronicles which begin before 1540, even when their notices extend as far as 1718, as in No. 68. Although the bulk of the chronicles cover the period from 1204 onwards, a few, like Nos. 14 and 57, go back to late antiquity.

After the general introduction, the book is divided into six parts, each division corresponding to one type of chronicle. The first is "Reichschroniken"–chronicles dealing with happenings in the Byzantine Empire as a whole. "Kaiserchroniken" treat primarily of the emperors: some are mere lists of rulers and how long they reigned. The longest division is "Lokalchroniken"–those which are of interest for local history. The largest number of them come from the Peloponnesus, but there are others from such areas as Crete, Cyprus, and southern Italy, which during much of the Middle Ages was a Greek-speaking area under Byzantine control. The "Chroniken türkischer Eroberungen" deal with the final cataclysm. Finally, "Einzelchroniken" includes materials which do not fit into any of the previous categories, and "Kleinchronikenfragmente," as previously mentioned, is made up of extant fragments of vanished originals.

This work is an exhaustive one. Professor Schreiner has examined well over 200 manuscripts from libraries as widely separated as those of the Historical Museum at Moscow,

the Vatican, and the Yale University Medical School (!). Many manuscripts, of course, are to be found in libraries in Greece, and a few are in such isolated outposts as the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, the library of the Jerusalemite Patriarchate, and even Istanbul. Manuscripts which Schreiner was forced to examine through microfilm or other types of photocopies are so identified, as are those which have now disappeared through war, fire, or other disasters but which can still be examined in previously printed editions. At the very end of this volume is a (fortunately) brief list of short chronicles which are known to have existed, but were never published, and whose manuscripts have now perished. There is also a concordance with S. Lampros & K. I. Amantos, *Βραχέα Χρονικά*. Ἐκδίδονται ἐπιμελεία (*Μνημεῖα τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας*, Τόμος Α', τεῦχος 1 [Athenai, 1932/33]), a previous attempt at an edition of the Byzantine short chronicles which was never completed.

Barring major discoveries of new manuscripts, Professor Schreiner's work should remain unchallenged for several decades. The book has been produced with the usual high standards of the other volumes in the CFHB. I have one minor addendum: Schreiner notes that Chronicle No. 7 has been translated by Peter Charanis ("Les BRAXEA XPONIKA comme source historique," *Byzantion* 13 [1938], 341-59). His reference is correct, but it implies that the translation was into French. Actually, despite the French title, the article of which the translation forms a part is written in English.

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Thomas F. Mathews. *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey.* University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976. 406 pp. $50.00.

Professor Mathews was happily inspired to publish a photographic record of the Byzantine churches of Istanbul. Between 1968 and 1973 he himself took some 10,000 photographs at Istanbul, out of which he has selected 489 for reproduction. He has supplemented this material with 148 photographs and 16 drawings from other sources. In all, there are 653 illustrations pertaining to more than 40 churches. A brief notice, accompanied by a sketch plan and a bibliography, is devoted to each monument.

As can be seen from this summary of the book's contents, the author's intention was to provide a working tool to students of Byzantine architecture and sculpture; frescoes and mosaics have been excluded on the valid grounds that they are sufficiently well illustrated in other publications. A particularly useful feature of this book and one that confers on it the status of a work of scholarship is the reproduction of a considerable number of old photographs and drawings which show the monuments in a condition more complete than the present one, or various details that have since disappeared. In seeking out these views the author has examined a number of photographic archives and is perhaps the first Western scholar to have made systematic use of the rich collection of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments (Eski Eserleri Koruma Encümeni) housed in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul.

Excellent as the book is, a few minor deficiencies may be noted. The first is of a technical nature. Mathews has done all his photography with a 35 mm. camera. While such an instrument is adequate for most purposes, it is not suitable for general views of large buildings. The result is that many interior and exterior shots of St. Sophia, St. Irene, Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, the Kariye Camii, etc., are too fuzzy to be of much use. A slightly larger camera of the Hasselblad type, which is neither heavy nor difficult to handle, would have yielded much better results as I know from long personal experience.

My second criticism is that while Mathews has made a laudable effort to locate old photographs and drawings of the churches of Istanbul, he has not gone far enough in

this direction. I realize that the publisher probably would not have allowed him to reproduce a greater number than he has done. He could, however, have listed in each case such drawings and photographs, both published and unpublished, as contribute to our knowledge of the architectural features of the monuments. Let me give a few examples. W. Salzenberg's *Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel* (1855), which Mathews quotes only with reference to St. Sophia, contains reasonably accurate delineations of St. Irene, the Vefa Kilise Camii (showing the original columns under the main dome and the outer south aisle, now destroyed), and Christ Pantocrator (showing part of the inlaid pavement that is no longer preserved). The drawings of Charles Texier (1833-35), now in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, London, also deserved fuller mention. Mathews has reproduced two of them, both of the Vefa Kilise Camii. Among those he omits, one, for example, shows the original columns under the dome of Christ Pantepoptes instead of the present stone piers, and there are six sheets pertaining to Christ Pantocrator with interesting details of the pavement. I have given some account of Texier's drawings in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* 80 (1965), 315-36. Other useful drawings may be found in Albert Lenoir's *Architecture monastique* (1852). The extremely detailed drawings by Cornelius Loos, made in 1710-11 and now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, are invaluable for the architectural study of St. Sophia. There are many others, besides. It would not, I believe, have been too laborious for Mathews to have listed such drawings as well as a number of published old photographs under the appropriate headings, thus completing the visual documentation.

Finally, there are a number of minor slips and omissions. The appellation "Blachernes" (pp. xvi, 376) is incorrect. The Patriarch Constantius I, author of the Κωνσταντινιάς, appears as Constantius IV and is quoted on p. 16 in an English translation of 1868 and on p. 60 in a French translation of 1846. It is not very accurate to speak of a Romanian embassy to the Sublime Porte in the sixteenth century (p. 36). The Comnene tomb "presently in the Hagia Sophia Museum" (p. 72) is not known to me. For "Nike riot" (pp. 102, 263) read "Nika riot." Myrelaion does not exactly mean "The Place of Myrrh" (p. 209). The dome of St. Sophia has 40, not 42 windows (p. 264). With reference to St. John of Studius, it may have been worth mentioning that the little "chapel" which once stood over the cistern is described by S. Byzantios, Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις, I (Athens, 1851), p. 310, in whose time it served as a holy fountain. With regard to St. Mary Chalcoprateia, the author might have quoted E. Mamboury in *Byzantion,* 11 (1936), 234, who reports the discovery of a colonnade along the south wall of the church (unpublished, as far as I know). For Kariye Camii there is evidence of important repairs in 1875, at which time the roofline of the facade was altered.

In spite of such small blemishes, Mathews' book will certainly prove extremely useful. It is appropriate, furthermore, that it should appear exactly a hundred years after the Βυζαντιναὶ μελέται of A. G. Paspates which contains the first systematic account of the Byzantine churches of Istanbul. A comparison of the two works reveals how much has been gained in the meantime and how relatively little has been lost. Some of the smaller churches, it is true, have disappeared. Rather more serious has been the damage done by incompetent restoration: The Myrelaion has been permanently disfigured and two facades of Christ Pantocrator badly spoilt. Considering, however, the vicissitudes of Istanbul in the past century, the record of preservation has been remarkably good. It is an observation not devoid of irony that more Byzantine churches were pulled down during the nineteenth century in Christian Athens than in Muslim Istanbul.

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Dumbarton Oaks Papers. Number 28. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1974. 371 pp., 333 ills.

The first four contributions in this volume are amplified versions of papers read at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium of 1973, entitled "Arts, Letters, and Society in Byzantine Provinces" and directed by Ihor Ševčenko. In his "Byzantine Art among Greeks and Latins in Southern Italy" (pp. 1-29), Hans Belting examines painting and sculpture of the ninth through twelfth centuries and discerns a range of creative responses, often by Latin artists, to contemporary metropolitan Byzantine style. He believes that as a general rule Latins rather than Greeks living in southern Italy were the patrons of this art, a thesis which he supports with two observations: first, that Byzantine officials in this outpost followed each other in quick succession, and so lacked time to develop an interest in artistic patronage; and second, that Greek monasticism in the province was ascetic and of the migratory rather than the stationary type. Nevertheless, he sees the Benedictine abbey church at Monte Cassino as a major art center in the second half of the eleventh century, producing Byzantine and Latin art of the highest quality. Had Belting treated architecture in his study, I think that he would have been able to marshal additional evidence in support of his thesis.

Kurt Weitzmann's "*Loca Sancta* and the Representational Arts of Palestine" (pp. 31-55) presents an iconographic study of the impact of some of the holiest sites in Palestine on the creation of visual images with very specific topographical details. This imagery occurs not only on ampullae, ivories, and manuscripts, where it has been identified by other scholars, most notably André Grabar, but also on painted icons, in particular some preserved on Mount Sinai, which are included by Weitzmann in his study. In the third article, "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?" (pp. 57-88), A. H. S. Megaw succinctly summarizes the results of recent discoveries and excavations, and of restorations of buildings, architectural sculpture, mosaics, and wall paintings dating from the fifth through the twelfth centuries. The full impact of Constantinople on Cyprus occurs only under the Emperor Justinian I, and even then, according to present evidence, the new Justinianic architecture of vaulted and domed spaces failed to replace the traditional wood-roofed basilica. After the reestablishment of Byzantine rule by Nicephorus Phocas, however, Cypriot church architecture does echo metropolitan models. Megaw's brief observations on the apse mosaics at Lythrankomi, Kiti, and Livadia await fuller explication before we can unreservedly accept his identification of these works as major monuments of the style of the imperial capital in the sixth and first half of the seventh centuries. The fourth paper, André Guillou's "Production and Profits in the Byzantine Province of Italy (Tenth to Eleventh Centuries): An Expanding Society" (pp. 89-109), states, first, that wealthy archons directed the healthy economic expansion and urbanization in the province–he focusses on southern Italy–and second, that the literary books produced there, almost exclusively religious and liturgical, reflect metropolitan sources. That is to say, the ruling elite in Byzantine Italy, which was a small and highly mobile group in this period, was responsible for the entire economic, social, and intellectual life of the province. Thus all four symposium papers establish that, in varying degrees, the imperial city shaped salient aspects of civilization throughout some provinces in late antique and Byzantine times. But what about its influence on other key provincial centers, such as Syria, Asia Minor, Thessaloniki, Rome, and Ravenna? Was it as considerable there, and why? Perhaps these questions will be treated in the papers read by Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko at the same symposium, which are supposed to appear in a later number of the *Papers.*

The remaining papers in this volume comprise textual studies, field reports, and notes. In "Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art" (pp. 111-40)

Henry Maguire takes a fresh look at ekphraseis, not in the favored mode of earlier scholars, as evidence for the reconstruction of lost monuments, but as expressions of Byzantine attitudes toward works of art. He demonstrates that most Byzantine writers followed literary sources with little or no regard for accurate description, while only a small number of writers looked at art qua art and made original observations. During the course of development of Byzantine art the ekphraseis became neither less and less nor more and more reliable. Rather, ekphrasis remained a matter of the skillful matching of literary conventions with works of art.

In his highly stimulating inquiry into the history of demotic Greek verse, "The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse" (pp. 141-95), Michael J. Jeffreys argues that in the twelfth century, probably for the first time, political verse in the vernacular was in common use at an informal level, and that such verse must have been a major medium of expression for the uneducated and half-educated members of Byzantine society at that time; these persons write it, spoke it, and sang it. Observing that a definite link exists between this verse and members of the imperial court, he advances the hypothesis that the *versus quadratus* existed in a Greek form, and already in the sixth century was heard in and around the Hippodrome in Constantinople. The content of such Greek verse generally would have been satirical comment about the emperor, on the Roman pattern. Cautiously Jeffreys postulates further that the ultimate origins of political verse may be traced to verses sung by soldiers in the retinue of the emperor during the triumphal processions of the Roman Republic and early Empire. Like the meter of Byzantine political verse, the meter of these army songs would have been the *versus quadratus.*

Lennart Rydén in his article "The Andreas Salos Apocalypse: Greek Text, Translation, and Commentary" (pp. 197-261) publishes a text written by a certain Nicephorus in Constantinople, presumably in the tenth century. Rydén collates the Greek texts of the Life of Andreas Salos from manuscripts dating to the fourteenth century and earlier. The *Vita* is not only a saint's life but also a kind of "pseudo-learned encyclopedia," in which fundamental questions about theological matters and natural phenomena are raised and answered; this encyclopedia occupies a large part of the *Vita.*

In the first of two field reports in the volume, Fikret K. Yegül publishes an important group of carved capitals made for the extensive reconstruction of the palaestra of the bath-gymnasium complex at Sardis, which is attributed to the late fifth century ("Early Byzantine Capitals from Sardis: A Study on the Ionic Impost Type," pp. 265-74). These capitals exhibit some features absent in other examples of the type, and Yegül rightly interprets them as revivals of earlier forms from Sardis itself. In "The Church of the Panagia Amasgou, Monagri, Cyprus, and Its Wallpaintings" (pp. 276-349), Susan Boyd identified four distinct layers of frescoes: (1) figures of saints attributed to the early twelfth century; (2) a complete feast cycle accompanied by figures of the four evangelists, attributed to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and thus the earliest preserved such cycle on Cyprus; (3) figures of St. Zosimus and Mary the Egyptian of the fourteenth century; and (4) scenes securely dated by inscription to 1564, to be treated in a subsequent study.

Two notes conclude the volume. In "Some Thirteenth-Century Pottery at Dumbarton Oaks" (pp. 353-60), Nancy Patterson Ševčenko publishes a glazed amphora and four bowls of similar workmanship which are identified with "Port St. Symeon ware," known to have been manufactured at the port of Antioch in Syria in the first half of the thirteenth century. George P. Majeska's "A Medallion of the Prophet Daniel in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection" (pp. 361-66) introduces a gold medallion of Palaeologan date which, he surmises, belongs to a class of monuments known as "Seals of the Prophet Daniel," acquired by pilgrims at the shrine of the prophet in the imperial city.

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Robert Browning. *The Emperor Julian.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976. xii, 256 pp. 12 illustrations, 3 maps.

For almost a half century, Joseph Bidez's perceptive and detailed *La vie de l'empereur Julien* (Paris, 1930) has served as the standard biography of this evocative figure. Robert Browning would offer a new, up-to-date study, asking the questions which concern historians in the late twentieth century, fully abreast of the trends of more recent historiography, and thus "not looking for a simple, unilinear development but recognizing the complexity and the internal contradictions of human affairs." The chosen format is traditional. An introduction sketches the main features of the Age of Constantine and Julian, while a series of chapters chronicles Julian's career from "childhood and youth" to "Persian War and death." A brief epilogue provides the occasion for historical judgments and a brief essay on the posthumous reputation of Julian the Apostate from Ammianus Marcellinus to Gore Vidal. In Britain, the book is published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson, and it is a seemingly commercial venture, aimed at a general audience. There are no footnotes, and the only aids to the reader are an extremely cursory note on the sources and a rather haphazard two-page list of suggestions for further reading. The reviewer left the book with a sense of disappointment and with a feeling that this is the least successful of Professor Browning's three recent volumes, possessing neither the freshness of his imaginative and scholarly *Byzantium and Bulgaria* nor the visual relief of his more general *Justinian and Theodora.*

The peculiar value of Bidez's *La vie de l'empereur Julien* lay in the author's profound understanding of the intellectual currents of late antiquity, which permitted him to draw a sharp and informative portrait of Julian as an intellectual figure and to place the emperor's intellectual achievement and religious aspirations within the perspective of his age. By contrast, Browning's biography is essentially a political narrative. There is no separate treatment of Julian's literary activity nor any detailed analysis of his thought. Individual works are dealt with by cursory summaries within the context of Julian's practical affairs of the moment. Even such signal works as the *Hymn to the Sun God* and the *Misopogon* are discussed in less than a paragraph. If, as Browning believes, Julian was "very much a man of his time, sharing alike its superstition and its rationalism, its pragmatism and its concern for dogma," then his literary works present us with something rare in ancient history, the opportunity to grasp the character of an age in the terms of the man most capable of shaping its history. The sophistication and cutting wit of the *Caesars,* the religious fervor of the *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods,* and the bewildered pathos of the *Misopogon* give Julian what few Roman emperors can have for us, a personality. These treatises are fundamental documents in the intellectual history of the fourth century. They are also the very stuff of biography. Julian is the rare case in which the biography of a Roman emperor is possible. We can cut through the silent idealization of the portraiture, the bombast of the coinage, the eulogies of sycophants and the petty carping of enemies; we can commune with the man himself. His writings reveal Julian to be very much a man of his age, standing on a level far removed from and more human than the great earth shakers, Alexander, Augustus, and Constantine.

As political narrative the book reads well. Browning knows how to set a scene and possesses an enviable talent for capsule portraits of cities like Antioch and of men like Maximus of Ephesus. The book is not, and perhaps was not intended to be, the much needed fundamental reevaluation of Julian. The starting point must be the critical reexamination of Ammianus' portrait. As in the case of Tacitus' image of Tiberius, the stylistic and dramatic qualities of Ammianus carry us almost unawares along with his narrative; and despite his express warning (16.1.2-5), we too often forget that we are dealing with a panegyric and continue to judge the details of individual episodes and the character and achievement of both Constantius and Julian by the standards of Julian's eulo-

gist. Hard questions about individual problems remain to be asked, and the answers are to be sought in the detailed analysis and comparison of our sources. For example, perhaps a first step in a more careful definition of Julian's policy toward Christianity lies in the simple determination of the religious affiliations of the highest magistrates. The results are interesting and point to the systematic exclusion of Christians from the highest civilian posts and the continuation of Christians in the highest military offices. (Cf. R. von Haehling, *Die Religionszugehörigkeit der hohen Beamten im römischen Reich von Constantins Alleinherrschaft bis zum Ende der theodosianischen Dynastie* [Diss. Bonn 1975], pp. 494-503.)

Browning's *Julian* is a book to recommend to the general reader and to undergraduates. More advanced students may continue to prefer Bidez.

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Derek Baker, editor. *The Orthodox Churches and the West.* Studies in Church History, 13. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1976. xii, 336 pp. £10.00.

This valuable volume contains papers read at the fourteenth summer meeting and the fifteenth winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society. It is a miscellaneous collection of twenty contributions, some good and others excellent, related to Orthodoxy and Byzantium. The great number of refreshing views represented makes it worthwhile reading.

The complex contrast of West and East is distinctly interpreted by Peter Brown in his essay, "Eastern and Western Christendom in Late Antiquity: A Parting of the Ways." The reader is led to understand some features of the divergence between East and West in terms of "diverging attitudes to the idea of the holy in the two Churches."

To keep "the Holy" in proper perspective, Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta studies "The Official Attitude of Basil of Caesarea as a Christian Bishop toward Greek Philosophy and Science," as reflected in his homilies. The author reveals Basil's delight in condemning the folly and insanity of the Greek philosophers and scientists who ignored the real utility of the perfect truth of Holy Scripture. Central in Basil's thought was the emphasis on the simplicity and certainty of Holy Scripture and of the Christian Faith. Basil's juxtaposition of Greek philosophy to that of Christianity is a frequently repeated theme of several Church fathers.

Very revealing is Averil Cameron's study, "The Early Religious Policies of Justin II," which corrects our picture about Justin and the Empress Sophia who have suffered badly from conventional sources. Their moderate policies toward the Monophysites were intended to restore unity, and their vigorous patronage of religious art enriched many churches. Contrary to some historical works insisting that these two were not interested in the West, their gift of the Holy Cross to the Queen-turned-nun Radegund in Poitiers and their sending of relics to Rome stand out as clear evidence of their favors.

A very good piece of research is W. H. C. Frend's study, "Eastern Attitudes to Rome during the Acacian Schism (484-519)," showing that the two sides were thinking in different terms: Rome in terms of discipline and Roman primacy, the easterners in terms of doctrine and also consensus among the "college" of patriarchs.

Literary criticism can be found in Derek Baker's "Theodore of Sykeon and the Historians," which considers the oldest manuscripts in their various versions. The penetrating interpretation by Janet L. Nelson of "Symbols in Context: Rulers' Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages" brings a new view of how royal inauguration was taken over in the West by ritually designated individuals without whose anointing no ruler could be made, in contrast to Byzantium where an inaugura-

tion ritual was never devised. As a result there was no accepted superiority of spiritual over secular authority in Byzantium, as there was in the West due to the ritual prescription: *quod minus est a meliore benedicitur.* Gelasius' distinction between *potestas* and *auctoritas* could not even find linguistic equivalent in Greek.

A new outlook is established by Joan M. Peterson's article, "Did Gregory the Great know Greek?," challenging a general assumption that Gregory knew Greek because he was for six years *apocrisiarius.* The implication seems to be that he knew Greek well enough, and, being well versed in Latin, was able to serve as a bridge between West and East.

East-West antagonism is shown in Rosalind M. T. Hill's study "Pure Air and Portentous Heresy," in which the East is reprimanded for producing a great number of heresies, so alienating the West that mutual understanding was greatly hindered. On the other hand, Donald M. Nicol blames the West for "Papal Scandal," represented by the pope's claim for primacy, which was never accepted by the East in the sense of "universal jurisdiction over the whole oikumene." The only authority recognized by the East was an ecumenical council at which the pentarchy was represented. All other excessive claims, whether by Rome or Byzantium, were resented, as the author successfully shows by a perusal of twenty-five Greek documents written on the subject between 1204 and 1400. The Fourth Crusade with the creation of the Latin Empire and patriarchate in 1204 did irreparable harm. Anti-Latin pamphlets aggravated the situation, and ecumenical councils in Rome (1215), Lyons (1245 and 1274), and Florence (1439) perpetuated a "papal scandal" with their demands for the primacy of the pope's jurisdiction, stressed even by St. Thomas Aquinas in *Contra errores Graecorum* (1274). In attempted rapprochements several dialogues were opened with the Latins, with Barlaam of Calabria introducing the idea of the collegiality of bishops. But the claims of the pope to speak for the whole Church on the one hand, and the claim of Constantinople since 1370 for its ecumenical patriarch on the other, defeated all opportunities for reconciliation.

Brenda M. Bolton's "A Mission to the Orthodox? The Cistercians in Romania," reveals how the Cistercians, who were regarded as the chief papal agents during the Crusades, were sent to establish their monastery at Chortaitou near Thessaloniki in 1203, to watch and challenge the "unorthodoxy of the Orthodox."

Truly revealing is the study "Bonaventure, the Two Mendicant Orders and the Greeks at the Council of Lyons (1274)" by Deno J. Geanakoplos. On the basis of the agenda of this Congress recently published by A. Franchi, Geanakoplos insists that Bonaventure's importance and role at the Council have been largely exaggerated and misrepresented. This was done for the purpose of his canonization (1483) and his proclamation as Doctor of the Church (1588), when he was termed the "soul of the union." The real merit for this reunion, however, belongs to two obscure Franciscans, John Parastron and Jerome of Ascoli.

Kathryn D. Hill's "Robert Grosstente and his work of Greek Translation" reveals this thirteenth-century English scholar as a prolific writer, who as Bishop of Lincoln invited Greek scholars and collected Greek manuscripts to spread the knowledge of Greek in his country. A very interesting topic is treated by Muriel Heppel in "New Light on the Visit of Grigori Tsamblak to the Council of Constance (1418)." Heppel insists that a sermon found by her in the pre-1917 collection of the Vilno library differs from the one "stressing a reunion" that was delivered at the Council by Grigori, Orthodox Metropolitan of Kiev, in his capacity as head of the Orthodox Church of Lithuania, in which Kiev was then located. The author suggests that the Vilno manuscript represents the original sermon, which was revised by the translator, Maurice of Bohemia; she proposes that the change was made after Grigori's arrival in Constance.

Another interesting item is reported by G. J. Cumming in "Eastern Liturgies and

Anglican Divines 1510-1662," namely that the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom was given to John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, by Erasmus in 1510; some copies were also accessible to Cranmer, and may have influenced the Anglican liturgy. Henry R. Selfton in "The Scottish Bishops and Archbishop Arsenius" describes how the Anglican Archbishop Campbell used Arsenius, who in 1716 was on a begging mission in England, to suggest that a union might be entered into by the non-jurors and the Greek Church. A proposal for this union was signed and it was a mark of eastern influence in Scottish worship.

Kalistos Ware's "The Fifth Earl of Giulford (1766-1827) and his Secret Conversion to the Orthodox Church" is another interesting entry. Protopope Dimitrios Petrettinos baptized the Honorable Frederick North, visiting the island of Corfu in 1792, under the condition that it be kept secret to avoid all repercussions in English society. The secret was kept faithfully until the close of the Earl's life, when the Orthodox priest Smirnov administered to him the Holy Communion over the objections of his relatives.

In the political sphere, Richard Clogg's study, "Anti-Clericalism in Pre-Independence Greece c. 1750-1821," reveals how anticlericalism arose despite the common faith that the "Church played a central role in the forging of the Greek national movement." In 1821 this sentiment was promoted by political, cultural, and socio-economic conditions, and it erupted especially in reaction to the Church's preaching about subservience to the Turks in the Ottoman era.

Eric Tappe outlines "The Rumanian Orthodoz Church and the West" in historical perspective, focusing on the geographical area of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. Adoption of the Church Slavic language in the tenth century helped to consolidate national feeling, yet political and religious attitudes underwent frequent change until 1698, when the Emperor Leopold achieved a certain stability by extending privileges to all those Orthodox who would recognize a pope.

Stuart Mews's "Anglican Intervention in the Election of an Orthodox Patriarch (1925-26)" elucidates a rather embarrassing episode involving the Anglican Bishop of Egypt, Llewellyn H. Gwynne, who intervened in the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the election of a new patriarch of Alexandria. His favored candidate, Nicholas, Metropolitan of Nubia, aroused the people's resentment, and the British Government subsequently withdrew its help in order to save face. Eventually, on 26 May 1926, a compromise was reached, providing for the re-election of the ex-Patriarch Meletios.

A final study by Nicolas Zernov, "The Significance of the Russian Orthodox Diaspora and its Effect on the Christian West" describes: a) the Russian Church on the eve of the Revolution, b) the Russian Church in exile, c) the Russian religious renaissance and its impact on the Church in the Diaspora, d) the message of the Russian Church in the Diaspora to the West, and e) the Christian West and the Russian Church in Diaspora.

This colorful spectrum of studies had an impressive impact on this reader, not only through the rich, well written and well annotated material content, but also through enlightened diction and freshness of outlook. The volume could enrich students or scholars, theologians or historians, and it is warmly recommended to all. Perhaps the presence of an index would have been helpful in orienting readers.

Ludvik Nemec *Rosemont College* and *Chestnut Hill College*

Doukas. *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*. An Annotated Translation of "Historia Turco-Byzantina" by Harry J. Magoulias. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975. 346 pp. 3 maps, 10 black-and-while plates. $18.50.

Among the four principal historians who wrote about the last years of the Byzantine Empire, Doukas is probably the slightest in intelligence and judgment. Although

he had as close a knowledge as any of the various Turkish dynasties, great and small, which were absorbing and transforming the old Greek heritage, he could still persuade himself that the successes of the Ottomans were temporary, and that some startling reversal of fortune would lead to a sudden decline in the Ottoman state. Sphrantzes and Kritovoulos knew better, and even the more hopeful Chalkokondyles (whose relatives appear in the middle ranks of Ottoman administration) was aware that a Greek restoration could not come soon. Only Doukas, to that last dramatic moment when he seems to drop his pen in mid-sentence as he watches the assault on Lesbos in 1462, continues to hope that something miraculous is just around the corner.

For all his limitations, however, he has a great deal to tell us, perhaps more about Turkish than about Greek affairs. There are few details of importance on the Christian side for which Doukas is our only, or even our principal source. He lived on the fringes of the declining empire, and had only a second-hand knowledge of events which we can follow at first hand in the pages of Sphrantzes and others. But that same position at the edges of what still remained to Byzantium gave Doukas a special opportunity to observe the Turks, both the small coastal dynasties of Asia Minor and the rising Ottoman state. He knew Turkish, not merely superficially, but well, and often served as an envoy to Turkish rulers. Without Doukas's history, we should know far less than we do about the early history of the Ottomans. In the absence of reliable Muslim sources for the period, Doukas is often the principal source, and sometimes the only source, particularly for the chaotic period after the capture of Beyazid I in 1402. Later official Ottoman historians preferred to suppress altogether the memory of Beyazid's son Süleyman, and much of what we know about his reign comes from Doukas.

Not, of course, that Doukas is wholly reliable. The notes to this translation bring out a number of points where he can be shown to be wrong, but these concern Christian as often as Muslim history. His comments about Ottoman domestic manners are probably based on prejudice and rumor at least as much as on observation. Pederasty does appear to have been very common in early Ottoman society, but it is doubtful that all members of the Ottoman governing caste were quite so preoccupied with their ravenous sexual appetites as hostile sources maintain. Mehmed II is a special case, and there is pretty general agreement that there was a distinct pathological streak in the man (it seems to have appeared in his sister, too), but we need not necessarily believe that all members of the dynasty were equally affected. It was a brutal age, no less on the Chritian than on the Muslim side.

Professor Magoulias has done a great service by making this text generally available to historians of the later Middle Ages. His translation follows closely the fine dition of the Greek text published by Basile Grecu in 1958. For those who, like the present reviewer, have little or no Romanian, and who quickly tire of Doukas's loosely linked strings of participial phrases, the translation serves as a welcome quick reference to the Greek text. I could wish only that the annotations had been more closely keyed to the Grecu edition, with a chapter and paragraph reference rather than the numerical sequence that was used. It would be very desirable as a general practice if the notes for such a translation were regularly put together so that they could be used with the original text as well as with the translation.

Maps are as good as the constraints on modern publishing seem to allow, but the absence of any indication of contours is always misleading. Doukas unfortunately shares with most other Byzantine writers a breezy disregard for accurate geographical references, and a little more guidance might have been in order. Zeitounion, for instance, is mentioned four times, and on one occasion it is clear that the equivalence with modern Lamia holds (XXVIII, 11; p. 165 and note 164). On other occasions when Doukas manages to make it sound like a place somewhere along the Strymon river, the notes fail to indicate that this creates rather a problem. (In all probability, all four

references are to Zeitounion/Lamia, and Doukas has simply been careless.)

Toward the end there is one small point that may be misleading (XLV, 13; p. 258 and note 317). Doukas is here giving an account of the earliest foundation of the famous Covered Market of Istanbul. He calls it "Bezestan" which he glosses very correctly as "Vestiopraterion"–the place where the *bezzaz*, or cloth-merchant, displays his goods. This is not an agora, or open market-place; it is a closed, well-guarded building, where adequate security precautions can be taken to protect the merchant's valuable stocks. Of especial interest is the fact that Doukas calls it a *theatron*, using a word which clearly has undergone a great change in meaning since antiquity. No open-air theater this, but a closed, roofed exhibition hall, as unlike the traditional notion of a Greek theater as any building could be.

The book includes a chronological outline at the beginning, and a serviceable index, and there are some very evocative photographs taken by the translator. As book prices presently are, it can be considered reasonably priced.

Pierre A. MacKay *University of Washington*

Otto Demus. *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration: Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium.* New Rochelle: Caratzas Brothers, 1976. xii, 97 pp. 79 black-and-white illustrations. $17.50.

Byzantine Mosaic Decoration was first published in 1948 in London by Kegan Paul Trench Trubner and Co. and reprinted by Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. in 1953 and 1964. The statement by Caratzas Brothers on the copyright page that they are the first to publish this book in the United States is quite erroneous. *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* initially appeared in this country in 1955, published by the Boston Book and Art Shop.

That *Byzanine Mosaic Decoration* has been reprinted so many times is eloquent testimony to the continuing value of this book. Demus's analysis of the formal qualities of Byzantine art is as fresh and meaningful today as thirty years ago. The characteristic placement of the mosaic image on a curved surface, the play of light upon it, the glittering effect of the gold cubes, and the use of figural distortion all serve to involve the image with the real space in front of the picture plane. This aim is essentially different from that of Western art, which was more concerned with the illusion of space. And it is entirely consistent with Byzantine Neo-platonic notions about the nature of the image. The space between beholder and image is to be abolished, for not only is the image to partake of the viewer's space, but the spectator transfers his condition to the image.

After an analysis of the formal aspects of Byzantine art, set against a background of architectural and theological considerations, Demus gives a short history of Byzantine mosaics from the fourth to the twelfth century when economic circumstances necessitated a shift to frescoes. There is a special section on the particular problems posed by mosaics outside of Byzantium-Sicily in the twelfth century and Venice in the thirteenth. The final chapter on the revival of mosaics in the Palaologan period compares the pictorial principles of the fourteenth century with those of the middle Byzantine period. The concern for the image in relation to the space of the whole church is replaced by an emphasis on individual images, each with its own internal picture space, or rather, several spaces.

Since Demus's book is likely to remain standard reading for students new to Byzantine art, it would have been helpful to attach a bibliographic addendum listing the major works that have appeared during the intervening thirty years, such as V. Lazarev's *Istoria della pittura bizantina* (1967) and C. Mango's *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*

312-1453 (1972), as well as monographs on individual monuments. An addendum could have served also to acknowledge some of the more important findings that through their absence date Demus's book unnecessarily. For instance Photius' Homily (pp. 34 and 54) was delivered not at the dedication of the Nea, but some sixteen years earlier at the dedication of the Church of the Virgin of the Pharos (R. H. Jenkins and C. Mango, "The Date and the Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9-10 [1956], 123 ff.).

An addendum is also a simple vehicle in which the author could have noted any changes in his opinions. Some revisions are necessary of his view on the development of the middle Byzantine system of church decoration. For example, it cannot be said that the Pantocrator is derived from the Ascension or that it entirely replaces it (p. 19 ff.). The two scenes occur together in the late ninth-century church built by Stylianus Zaoutzas and described in a Homily by Leo VI (Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 203 ff.), and also in the eleventh-century church of St. George at the Mangana (*ibid.*, p. 219). Demus himself has remarked ("Probleme byzantinischer Kuppel-Darstellungen," *Cahiers archéologiques*, 25 [1974], 107) that the Ascension continued to be represented in the vault of the presbytery of many middle and late Byzantine churches. According to the homilies of Photius and Leo VI, the dome image was interpreted primarily in imperial terms. Therefore the Pantocrator is best understood as a replacement of the so-called "Liturgical Maiestas" found in the Early Christian apse, just as the cupola replaces the apse as the focal point of the church. An imperial interpretation of the Pantocrator, the occupant of the dome, echos contemporary descriptions of the dome itself, not as heaven as Demus suggests, but as a throne. See, for example, the poem by Constantine the Rhodian, ca. 930, on the Church of the Holy Apostles (Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 200) or the inscription in the tympanum of Hagia Sophia made probably after the earthquake of 869 (Mango, *The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* [1962], p. 63 ff.). The analogy of the dome with a throne recalls Germanus's remarks on the symbolism of the bema—"a place like a footstool and like a throne" (Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 143). According to Germanus the whole church is an image of heaven, while in the cosmological symbolism of Maximus the Confessor the sanctuary, not the dome, is equated with heaven.

Recent scholarship has revealed a closer relationship between pre- and post-iconoclastic art than Demus assumed. There is evidence of a continuing, albeit much reduced, tradition of religious figural art (see Robin Cormack, "The Arts During the Age of Iconoclasm," *Iconoclasm* [1975], p. 35 ff.). In addition, there was a very pronounced antiquarian tendency during the second half of the ninth century as the Nicaea mosaics, the solidi of Michael III, and an epigram on the mosaic in the Chrysotriclinos (*Anthologia graeca*, I, 107) all demonstrate.

It is certain that Demus, a vigorous, active scholar, would have much to add on these and other issues. His comments on the development of the study of Byzantine monumental decoration would be a marvelous gift to present and future students of Byzantium. Only because this book is so intelligent and still so very pertinent would one like to see it brought up to date.

Jane Timken Matthews *Stonington, Connecticut*

Marcell Restle. *Reclams Kunstführer. Istanbul, Bursa–Edirne–Iznik. Baudenkmäler und Museen.* Stuttgart: Verlag Philipp Reclam jun., 1976. 632 pp. 125 plans, 52 illustrations, 9 maps. DM 42.80

The present volume, in the series of *Kunstführer* of the German publisher Philipp

Reclam jun., surveys the antique, Byzantine, and Ottoman architectural and artistic monuments of Istanbul/Constantinople, Bursa/Prusa, Edirne/Adrianople, and Iznik/ Nicaea. Situated in the hinterland of the Sea of Marmara, in eastern Thrace and northwest Anatolia, these four cities are linked by their long imperial associations: Istanbul, of course, as capital of the East Roman and Byzantine empires from A.D. 330, and of the Ottoman state after 1453; Bursa and Edirne as Ottoman capitals from 1326 to 1413, and 1367 to 1453 respectively; and Iznik as a major center in the early Byzantine period, and as the capital of the Seljuqs of Rum at the end of the eleventh century and of the Lascarids of Nicaea in the thirteenth century.

Restle, naturally, devotes the greatest part of his text–fully two-thirds–to Istanbul, beginning with a brief outline of the city's topography and history and a description of its fortifications, including Rumeli Hisar and Anadolu Hisar, the Ottoman fortresses flanking the Bosphorus to the north of the city. Subsequent sections deal with the city's religious monuments–mosques and churches–and with its secular architecture–palaces, commemorative structures, aqueducts and cisterns, fountains, baths, markets, hans, and domestic architecture. The treatment of each monument begins with an historical outline, followed by an architectural description frequently accompanied by plans (taken for the most part from such standard works as Gurlett and Gabriel) and photographs or reproductions of old engravings. The name of each monument is given in Turkish, supplemented where appropriate with its German name, and locations are carefully noted and keyed to the map fixed to the inner back cover of the book. In addition, there is a guide to the collections of several of Istanbul's major museums, including the Arkeoloji Müzesi, Eski Sark Eserleri Müzesi, Topkapi Sarayi, and the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi. The latter will be of special value to non-Turkish speaking travelers and students, as in many cases the official guidebooks published for these museums by the Department of Antiquities of the Turkish Ministry of Education are printed only in Turkish, and also because many collections are so inadequately labeled (most notoriously, that of the Arkeoloji Müzesi).

The treatments of the history, urban form, monuments, and museum collections of Bursa, Edirne, and Iznik follow much the same general format, again with historical and architectural descriptions of individual buildings, and numerous and adequate plans and photographs. The book concludes with an extensive bibliography in which most of the standard works in European languages are listed (although the Turkish literature is for the most part ignored), a glossary of technical and non-German terms, and thorough indices of the names of artists and architects, and of monuments.

Restle judiciously selects and carefully summarizes the fundamental facts pertaining to the monuments with which he deals. And although the author makes no pretensions to original scholarship–which, in any case, is precluded by the nature of the book–his guide is far superior in order, completeness, and accuracy to any of the other standard guides presently available (including the *Guide Bleu* and *Nagel* volumes). Certainly, it will serve as a handy and welcome reference for the student of Byzantine and Ottoman art, as well as for any thoughtful traveler in western Turkey.

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Roberta. C. Chesnut. *Three Monophysite Christologies: Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus of Mabbug, and Jacob of Sarug*. London and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976. 158 pp. $16.95.

Few these days would regard the Council of Chalcedon as the definitive resolution of the Christological controversies of antiquity. Doctrinal struggles continued and if

anything increased in scope, as new positions were advanced and vigorously defended. Among supporters of the council, some regarded its decisions as a vindication of the old Antiochene diophysite Christology, but many others, particularly in the East, sought alternative approaches which would definitively exclude any lingering suggestion of Nestorianism. A similar task confronted those who rejected the council. While a few, like the aphthartodocetist Julian of Halicarnassus, might explore the possibilities of a true monophysitism, more conservative churchmen like Severus of Antioch and Philoxenus of Mabbug were obliged to account for Christ's full humanity, even though they might reject Chalcedon's language of two natures. The significance of these alternatives to Chalcedon has already been established by such scholars as Lebon and De Halleux. Dr. Chesnut, while not superseding the work of these older authorities, does modify or correct it at several points, to demonstrate even more forcefully the remarkable diversity encompassed within that movement which we so misleadingly label monophysite.

Three Monophysite Christologies gives a surprisingly vivid picture of the intellectual and spiritual worlds of Syria in the late fifth and early sixth century: "surprisingly vivid," for the book succeeds in spite of itself. Dr. Chesnut writes as a systematic theologian; she attempts to present each author's Christology and epistemological presuppositions in a distilled form, as free as possible from the dregs of context and history. Yet well-chosen quotations and lucid presentation of even technical material help to compensate for the deliberate narrowness of approach.

The strengths and weaknesses of her method are most apparent in Dr. Chesnut's treatment of Jacob of Sarug. She gathers this poet-preacher's most striking and characteristic metaphors and shows the gnostic parallels to his mythological system, but she is on shaky ground when she tries to extract from this a complete Christology. She can only conclude "that Jacob holds to a christology which is unsatisfactory in many areas" (p. 141). It would be more accurate to say simply that Jacob is not a systematic theologian.

Quite a different case is Severus of Antioch. Theologian he was, the best of his generation. Though his works survive chiefly in Syriac, he wrote and thought in Greek and moved in a cosmopolitan milieu foreign to either Jacob or Philoxenus. Dr. Chesnut ably expounds his vision (inherited from Cyril of Alexandria) of the hypostatic union of divinity and humanity in Christ and his important distinction between "self-subsistent" and "non-self-subsistent" hypostasis which permitted him to explain this union of different levels of reality. Yet here too greater attention to context would have been desirable. Severus was a very conservative theologian, the self-conscious heir to the Cappadocians and Cyril of Alexandria. Closer examination of his use of these masters would reveal his own place within this theological tradition more clearly than repeated allusions to a "Christian Platonist tradition" (pp. 51, 113, 142 *et passim*). The author might also have been spared some embarrassing, though not fatal slips. For example, the belief "that Jesus had a human soul endowed with will and reason as well as a human body" is described as "Severus' peculiar position" (p. 25 n.3). Yet no respectable theologian had believed otherwise since the fourth-century heretic Apollinaris, who had taught that in Christ the Logos replaced the rational soul. (Equally extraordinary is the suggestion elsewhere in the book [p. 110] that Theodore of Mopsuestia practiced an allegorical method of biblical interpretation.)

Dr. Chesnut is at her best with Philoxenus. She takes pains to demonstrate that he, like Severus, does maintain Christ's full humanity, despite weaknesses in terminology. But she also deftly brings out his bold–indeed reckless–use of analogy, his love of paradox, his anti-intellectual asceticism–characteristics which hardly encouraged dialogue with the opposition. If Severus is self-consciously part of the Greek patristic tradition, Philoxenus is self-consciously Syrian, determined to fashion a technical theological language for that tradition even if it means impeding, rather than encouraging

communication. His is the spirit of stubborn separatism that assured the permanence of the divisions created by Chalcedon. Perhaps for this very reason his Christology, though far cruder than that of Severus, lends itself to a considerably more exciting presentation. Let us hope that Dr. Chesnut will consider him in greater detail in a sequel to this, her excellent first book.

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Robert F. Taft, S.J. *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.* Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 200. Roma: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1975. xl, 485 pp. Appendix of *textus receptus*, chronological list of mss., index of mss., and general index. 20,000 *lire.*

This work, by the former editor of *Orientalia Christians Periodica* and present professor of liturgics at the University of Notre Dame,, was done originally as a dissertation under the noted Spanish scholar of Byzantine liturgy, Juan Mateos. It is a worthy product of what now amounts to a school of Mateos' pupils, all of whom are devoting themselves to the careful *resourcement* and exposition of the historical evolution of the second largest rite of Christian worship in the world. The work of this school represents the discipline of liturgiology in its strictest and finest sense.

The present volume stands as the second in a series of three studies analyzing the devlopment of Byzantine eucharistic practice from the surviving mss. of the tradition, wherever they can be found. The first of the series was Mateos' own *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine* (1971), which dealt with the first part of the Divine Liturgy to the Great Entrance. The third, to be done also by Taft, will cover all the anaphoral material, the communion, and the ending of the service. When complete, this trilogy will stand as the most complete historical account of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy yet written—as analogous to the work of J. A. Jungmann on the Mass of the Roman Rite, *Missarum Sollemnia* (1949), as the state of the mss. presently allows.

The range of mss. studied in the present work numbers some 200, dating from the eighth through the seventeenth centuries, even to the Athens *Ieratikon* of 1951, representing the *textus receptus* of the Great Entrance as presently observed. The very dispersion of the mss. illustrates the difficulties confronting such studies as this. That Taft has managed to correlate all these and produce a coherent picture of the development of the ritual they represent or comment upon is a solid accomplishment. Moreover, when this book is read along with Thomas Mathews' *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (1974), the life of worship of a major Christian church begins to take on the form and substance necessary for dependable theological reflection upon the tradition authored by that church. One is freed from the heavy hand of the modern equation of tradition with partly founded (or even unfounded) speculation. Idioms such as the still recognizable processional quality of Byzantine worship are recognized as creations of a people utilizing a great city not merely as the setting for, but as the organ of their faith—a faith that in turn molded a world view of incalculable portent for the modern world in politics, science, commerce, theology, and all the arts. For too long scholars have paid not enough attention to the action-symbols and patterns of people, particularly when these cluster about the values by which people cohere and thus manage to survive. Liturgy is about such matters.

In so vast a work as this book there are bound to be flaws. Here they are minor, such as occasional colloquial irritations and specific questions about several dates. But Taft's convincing rejection of theories that view the Great Entrance as originally

an act of "offering" is so salutary that one gladly forgives lapses. No doubt in the third volume of the trilogy he will show that the Anaphora, or great eucharistic prayer, is the "offering" of the gifts of man to God, their source. (If one wishes insights into Byzantine cosmology, one may find many in the anaphoras of Basil and John Chrysostom.) Taft's opinion that the Great Entrance was originally less an "offering" of the gifts of bread and wine than a solemn transfer of them from the *skeuophylakion* of Hagia Sophia to the altar of the church is valid, in my opinion.

But there is much more to the book than this, which is why I recommend it to all those interested in Byzantine studies.

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Roberto Romano, editor. *Pseudo-Luciano Timarione, testo critico, introduzione, traduzione, commentario e lessico.* Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neapolitana. Collana di studi e testi diretta da Antonio Garzya, 2, Napoli: Università di Napoli, Cattedra di filologia bizantina, 1974. 187 pp.

This is as comprehensive an edition of a lively piece of twelfth-century Byzantine satire as will be needed for a long time. The account belongs to the popular genre that began with Homer, a tale of a journey through Hades. Echoes of Plato and Plutarch, among others, can be heard, but the principal influence emanates from Lucian, particularly his *Necyomanteia.*

Initially in dialogue with his friend, Kydion, then solo throughout the rest of the narrative, the protagonist, Timarion, relates how he recently vistied Thessaloniki in order to observe the great trade fair held there in conjunction with the celebration in honor of St. Demetrios, which attracted merchants from all over Europe and Asia Minor. His excursion induced high fever; he was endeavoring to return to his home in Cappadocia (then under the Sultan of Iconium) when, twenty days later, he was given up for dead at an inn. His visit to the fair thus set the stage for his voyage to the underworld.

Two *nekrophoroi* wrest Timarion's soul from his body and convey it past the familiar portals, guarded by a grim Cerberus and his savage minions, to the seat of judgment, which, however, bears much greater resemblance to the Elysian fields than to the torture chambers of an Inferno. Timarion believes his conductors acted arbitrarily when they seized his soul, and desires a hearing on the question. He is encouraged when on his way he meets his former teacher of rhetoric, Theodore of Smyrna (an historical figure active during the reign of Alexius Conmenus; thus, the reference is of value in dating the work), who undertakes to plead his case before the judges, who supposedly enjoy a high reputation for strictness. This encounter leads to the core of the piece, which is an original *agōn* done in the style of Aristophanes.

The traditional figures, Minos and Aeacus, have been joined by upright Theophilus (819-42), the last Iconoclast emperor, a necessary addition because the Christians (frequently called "Galileans") are now so numerous everywhere, although all in Hades are free to profess whatever faith they wish. The trial turns on the issue of whether a person is "legally dead" (in contemporary parlance) if one of the four humors is absent in him, as was Timarion's case. The judges, unable to render a verdict without expert advice, seek the views of Aesculapius and Hippocrates. The former is portrayed as a mute muffled in a veil; the latter resembles an Arab in a burnoose. Theodore's formidable oratory convinces all to find for the plaintiff, whose soul is ordered restored to his body, and the *nekrophoroi* are removed from the posts they have held since "the days of Kronus."

On his return journey through this strange Hades, where no one is punished and the

shades lead lives strikingly like the ones they have left behind, Timarion notices several philosophers of antiquity seated quietly eating and discussing and overhears an altercation between Diogenes the Cynic and John Italus, who succeeded Michael Psellus (here apparently the scribe who recorded the judges' decision concerning Timarion) as the leading philosophic practitioner in Constantinople. The satire is invariably gentle and the humor subtle. Medicine, rhetoric, and the judiciary are their targets. Gluttony receives good-natured attention: in recompense for his spirited pleading Theodore carefully enumerates the good things Timarion must not forget to send below from his table.

In addition to a clear introduction, indices, and excellent notes to the text, Romano's edition contains three succinct excurses. Reviewing the hypotheses designed to identify the anonymous author, the editor is inclined to favor Nicolas Callicles. The section on lexicography, admirably supplemented by the *apparatus criticus*, illustrates the way in which classical themes, quotations, language, and grammatical constructions are deftly blended with *koinē* and later usages. The discussion of the manuscript tradition reveals that *Timarion* has been preserved in a unique Vatican codex. The Greek text is sound and the Italian translation precise and accurate. Romano has provided a bibliography of secondary literature on *Timarion*, including Russian sources, which Italian scholars have tended to ignore. All interested persons should be delighted with this valuable addition to the expanding corpus of secular Byzantine literature.

Hugh F. Graham *California State College, Bakersfield*

Deno J. Geanakoplos. *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance. Studies in Ecclesiastical and Cultural History.* New York: Archon Books, 1976. xiv, 206 pp. 16 plates, 4 maps.
Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Culture in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330-1600). New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976. xxii, 416 pp. 18 plates, 5 maps.

I first met Deno Geanakoplos when he was still a graduate student at Harvard University. He had passed his examinations, but that not yet chosen the subject of his dissertation. We talked about the matter and he made it clear to me that what he wanted was a subject which related to Byzantium and the Latin West. His general orientation, he said, was toward Western medieval Europe, but the phase of it in which he was particularly interested was the effect that Byzantium may have had upon it, and it on Byzantium. He chose, finally, as the subject of his dissertation the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus as it related to the West. In 1959 that work came out in book form under the title: *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West. A Study in Byzantine Latin Relations.*

The book on Michael paleologus was followed by a steady flow of studies, a flow which is still going on, on subjects virtually all of which relate to Byzantium and the West, how and to what degree and in what domain they may have affected each other. In 1966 some of these studies were brought together under the title: *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds in Christendom in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.* That book as reprinted is put forth here as item one of this review.

The reprint contains the same number of studies as the original and has been brought out with no revisions whatsoever. These studies, six in number, plus a prologue, extend in time from the end of the Roman Empire in the West to about 1600, and all except one deal with some aspect of the relations between the Greek East and the Latin West. Two aspects of these relations are particularly emphasized: the ecclesiatical antagonism between the two sections of Christendom and the significance in the cultural evolution

of Western Europe of the revival of Greek studies and the role which Byzantine scholars played in that revival. Two studies are particularly interesting in connection with this revival: the one on the evolution of the Greek community in Venice and the other on Crete as the place of origin of many of the scholars involved in it. An entire study, indeed, is devoted to one of these Cretan scholars, the humanist and theologian Maximos Margounios who offered a modification of the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost in order to facilitate the union of the churches and whose Latin Library, bequeathed by him to the Monastery of Iviron on Mt. Athos, still exists. The revival of Greek Studies in the West is touched upon briefly in another essay, but the emphasis of that essay is on the impact of Byzantine culture on Europe in the Middle Ages. The essay is interesting more for the discussion which it offers than for the concrete results it achieves. The ecclesiastical antagonism, taken throughout the book as the principal factor in the failure of East and West to achieve some cultural integration, is to some extent treated in detail in the essay on the Council of Florence, called to bring about the union of the churches. That council actually reached an agreement on the question but the Greek East, despite the inroad which some Western ideas made among some of its intellectuals, would have none of it. The Greeks feared that acceptance would eventually mean the loss of their cultural identity. These are points which are well taken by Geanakoplos.

Caesaropapism, a term coined by modern scholars and implying that in Byzantium the power of the emperor over the church was absolute, is the subject of one essay in the book not directly concerned with any aspect of the relations between East and West. The question is examined thoroughly and the conclusion is reached to the effect that while the power of the emperor over the church was in many ways absolute, there were two domains in which it was limited. The emperor could not by himself introduce any doctrinal innovations or make any accommodations with the Church. There were expense of the Greek Church. There were emperors who tried the one or the other, but their attempts in the end failed. That is, of course, true. In Byzantium there was public opinion and sometimes the pressure of that opinion was strong enough to affect changes in imperial policy. But the point should be made that it required imperial initiative or at least imperial approval to make these changes. The question, therefore, is not whether the emperor had legal right to act in any of the affairs of the church, but whether it was practical under certain circumstances to do so.

The title of the second item put forth here for review may create the impression that the item is an organic book, the result of putting together of the material and ideas which the author may have gathered in the course of his researches into an integrated whole. This is not the case. This item, too, is a collection of studies, in content extending over the same period of time and dealing pretty much with the same kind of material as the first one. There are, however, more of them, fourteen altogether, and as a consequence they make the collection in which they appear more comprehensive than the first one.

In their coverage of subject matter, the studies of the second collection vary from an analysis of the Orthodox Church as the creative element in Byzantine culture to the dissemination in the West in the sixteenth century of the writings of the Greek Church fathers. For those not acquainted with the first collection, the study devoted to Demetrius Chalcondyles as professor of Greek at Padua should appear the most interesting among the four studies devoted to the revival of classical Greek studies in the West. This is because the material used in the other studies had already been used to a considerable extent in studies on the subjects included in the first collection. This observation applies to a number of other studies. Indeed the study, "The Influence of Byzantine Culture on the Medieval West" is a reprint, with some parts eliminated, of the one entitled, "The Influence of Byzantine Culture on the Medieval Western World," of the

first collection. Subjects which are treated in this collection but are not considered, certainly not in detail or seriously, in the first include: "Maximos the Confessor and his Influence on Eastern and Western Theology and Mysticism"; "Ordeal by Fire and Judicial Duel at Byzantine Nicaea (1253)"; "Church Construction and Caesaropapism in East and West from Constantine to Justinian"; "San Bernardino of Siena and the Greeks at the Council of Florence (1438-39)"; and an analysis of a Greek libellus against religious union with Rome after the council of Lyons (1274). On the other hand, one study included in the first collection, "Church and State in the Byzantine Empire: A Reconsideration of the Problem of Caesaropapism," has not been exploited by any of the studies which appear in the second. Another, "The Council of Florence (1438-39) and the Problem of the Union between the Byzantine and Latin Churches," has been exploited slightly in that aspects of it have been elaborated into long essays, the essays entitled, "Religion and Nationalism in the Byzantine Empire and After: Conformity or Pluralism" and "Western Influences on Byzantium in Theology and Classical Latin Literature." Quite obviously in composing some of the studies which he included in his second collection the author drew heavily from the studies which he had published in the earlier collection; nevertheless, the second collection does not quite supplant the first.

A feature of the second collection which distinguishes it from the first is the author's attempt to analyze the process of acculturation and to apply it to the relations between the Greek East and the Latin West. In doing this he turns to sociology and uses some of its concepts. In my opinion, it was not necessary to do this. It is quite obvious from his studies that the West, while appreciating and being influenced by the revival of classical Greek studies, cared very little and hardly responded to the culture of Byzantium itself. It is obvious also that its military, political, ecclesiastical, and economic activities in the Greek East had important historical consequences, but they served also to immunize the Greeks against its cultural influence. Sociologists may reflect over such developments, they may draw general principles from them and coin terms to define these principles, but the historian, however he may be tempted by these principles, must follow the dictates of the sources. Geanakoplos' studies as history have come to enjoy some standing and should remain alive for some time to come.

Peter Charanis *Rutgers University*

Franz Georg Maier, editor. *Byzanz.* Fischer Weltgeschichte, 13, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1973. 444 pp. 10 maps, 12 black-and-white illustrations. 6.80 DM.

This volume in the compact and inexpensive Fischer Weltgeschichte series consists of a lengthy introduction and seven chapters by six German, Swiss and British scholars, the two chapters written in English having been translated into German. It embodies both the advantages and the drawbacks of such a collaborative enterprise. The expert knowledge of each author is reflected in authoritative coverage of the major developments in each period, and the full account of recent scholarship provided in the selective but useful bibliographies for each chapter yields a survey that is appreciably more up-to-date than other general histories of Byzantium. Thus, in his own chapter on the period from 518 to 717 Professor Maier recognizes the gradual nature of the administrative changes that led to the theme system, and in his chapter on the period of the Komnenoi Dr. Winfried Hecht gives a more sophisticated interpretation of the tensions which beset the empire in the eleventh century than the traditional view of a sharp dichotomy between military aristocrats and civilian courtiers. Other contributions which merit special mention

are Hermann Beckedorf's detailed and penetrating analysis of the Fourth Crusade and its consequences, and the lucid survey of relations between Byzantium and the Slavs given by Dr. Hans-Joachim Härtel, whose arguments are not vitiated by an over-emphasis on Bulgaria. Throughout the book a welcome amount of attention is devoted to intellectual developments and to relations with the West, especially in Dr. Hecht's chapter on the Macedonian Renaissance. Dr. Judith Herrin's chapter on the Iconoclast crisis is particularly strong on administration and foreign policy, and Professor D. M. Nicol rounds off the volume with a survey of the events contributing to the empire's decline in the period of the Palaiologoi. By contrast the treatment of the formative period of Byzantium is disappointingly scanty, but this may be accounted for by the more detailed attention given to the sixth and seventh centuries in Professor Maier's volume in the same series, *Die Verwandlung der Mittelmeerwelt* (Frankfurt am Main, 1968). An illuminating series of maps and illustrations forms a useful complement to the text, as do lists of the rulers of Byzantium and neighboring states.

An inevitable feature of collaborative ventures is the lack of a coherent theme or unified approach, and in this case the failing is exacerbated by the tendency of some of the contributors to concentrate on a narrative, as opposed to an interpretative, approach. The variable usefulness of the contributions is partly due to a curiously arbitrary policy regarding footnotes, which appear only in the introduction and in the chapters on the foundations of the empire and on the Fourth Crusade. The most penetrating part of the volume is Professor Maier's introduction, which outlines the evolution of the historical problem of Byzantium from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century views of its history as "the long-drawn-out process of the decay of the great classical past" to the more recent interpretation of the empire as a bureaucratic-absolutist society worthy of dispassionate study in its own right. Maier proceeds to give a thoughtful analysis of the structures and forces which created the phenomenon of Byzantine civilization and contributed to its resilience. It is most unfortunate that the interesting themes developed in the introduction are not illustrated in the following chapters on a systematic basis.

Although it would be unreasonable to expect consistently original interpretations in an introductory history, a policy of tighter editorial control might have enhanced this volume's usefulness and cohesiveness. But as a concise synthesis of modern scholarship it can be recommended as a general survey which beginners and specialists may read with profit.

Thomas S. Brown *University of Birmingham*

Walter Puchner. *Das neugriechische Schattentheater Karagiozis.* Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 21. München: Institut für Byzantinistik and Neugriechische Philologie der Universität, 1975. ix, 250 pp., 39 black-and-white illustrations. DM 14.

Althouth theater in which puppets cast shadows on a sheet-screen between them and the spectators can be found in China, whence likely it spread westward through Asia, it was thought to be a product of Turkey when, legend has it, the Greek Jannis (or Barbayiannis) Vrachalis brought it from Constantinople to the Piraeus about 1860. Karagiozis (Turkish for "black-eyed one,") is the hero's name.

He has become entirely Greek. He is witty, sly, cunning, mischievous, happy, unprincipled, pious, and earthy in a never-ending series of events derived from Greek mythology, history, or present times. Other Greek characters assist him. Barbajorghos, an unlearned but shrewd peasant with donkey, is a mountaineer who has never seen the sea. Sior Nionios from Zante is a (semi) intellectual European. Hatzavates is a half-Turk half-Greek intermediary. Each of a dozen more characters of the repertoire has his own sequence of scenes, songs, and dances. Besides these comic characters and plots Greek pup-

peteers, especially Mimaros (Dimitrios Sartounis), added more serious drama to the genre with heroic themes from the Klephtic tradition, immortalizing Athanasius Diakos, the patriot martyr.

The puppeteer, also called Karagiozis, is a one-man show, a master of improvisation, a restless sea of voices, moods, characters, an infinite mine of unwritten lines from countless scenarios which he weaves with the everlasting freshness of the present moment of creative genius. The greatest of the puppeteers was the late Sotiris Spatharis, whose son Eugenius has played the major cities from Athens to New York. The villagers for their part share in the creation, for their immediate laughter fashions the next line; their disapproval changes the whole story. Karagiozis is their expression of moods, needs, ideals in the never-to-be-repeated moment when people and puppets meet in high humor.

Puchner documents all this well and describes the spoken moment of genius as well as the written word allows. He concludes with several valuable appendices: a list of important Karagiozis puppeteer-players, a description of 264 episodes or series of episodes known to be in the repertoire, sources of 16 scripts of an essentially oral tradition, 174 bibliographic items, and 39 black-and-white pictures of the puppets seen as their shadows come through the screen. Unfortunately the book itself is poorly manufactured.

When Puchner explains the decline of Karagiozis he himself is in the arena of shadows. His theory is that Karagiozis and the folk people of Greece are so intimately connected that one reflects the other immediately. But (he argues) the villagers have moved to the cities, think of themselves as Europeans, and labor in factories. They have been uprooted and moved 500 years to another continent. Therefore (he concludes) Karagiozis is in decline.

However, Puchner's explanation does little justice to Karagiozis' incredible adaptability. He came to Greece in 1860 as a Turkish immigrant; and born again of Greek villagers, he became an integral and living organ of Greek culture and demotic theater for the last 100 years. Indeed, the truth and the full explanation for his decline is that the clever Greek is caught in the inflexible shadows of his medium. And the medium is the message. Television came to Greece in the 1960s and to the villages in the 1970s. A new medium and one decade without shadows was enough to seal Karagiozis' doom and put his shade to rest.

Puchner may have written the best word on Karagiozis; he certainly has written the last.

Walter M. Hayes *Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies*

John Meyendorff. *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought.* Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1975. 248 pp.

The three centuries of Byzantine religious history following the Council of Chalcedon in 451 present the student with enormous difficulties. For the historian, the essential problem is how the once loyal populations of Syria and Egypt were gradually alienated from Constantinople until in the first decades of the seventh century foreign rule, whether Persian or Arab, seemed preferable to continuous harrassment by the representatives of Chalcedonian orthodoxy. Could at any time a Christological formula have been devised that would have united the peoples of the East Roman Empire without sacrificing the links that bound Old with New Rome?

For anyone who believes that the religious issues by themselves were minimal, Professor Meyendorff's work will be highly salutary. The debates about the identity of Jesus Christ in this period were neither abstract nor purely academic. Was Christianity to be understood in the last resort as a continuation of Judaism in which God saved by issuing inscrutable decrees and Christ was a "mere man," living and dying at a certain moment

in history, or was He the second person of the Divine Trinity manifesting Himself through a loving identification with man and showing Himself as "being love"? That such alternatives did indeed present themselves to Christians in the fifth and sixth centuries is clear enough from the accounts of the utterances of the young martyr Habsa, captured by Jewish and Nestorian forces at the siege of Najran in 524, or from the rejection by King Silko of Nobatia of the version of the Chalcedonian faith he believed to be represented by Justinian. Monophysitism, the theology of Cyril of Alexandria as interpreted by Severus of Antioch, "the single incarnate nature of the God-Word," was the Christology which inspired martyrs, and to the mass of east Roman provincials it seemed the best guarantee of their salvation. They were instinctively Monophysite.

In the second edition of this lucidly written, but nonetheless difficult book, the author shows how initiative in Christological thought gradually passed from the Monophysites to the Chalcedonians. It is a fascinating if slow-moving story covering more than three centuries from Chalcedon to the Iconoclastic Controversy. Dealing with the three quarters of a century that separated Chalcedon from the accession of Justinian, surely more could have been made of the gradual evolution of the Christological position held by the patriarchs of Constantinople. The *Henotikon* of Zeno and Acacius of 482 is not an episode to be dismissed but should be recognized as an effort to establish common ground between Constantinople and Alexandria without completely jettisoning Chalcedon; and between 482 and the death of the Emperor Anastasius in 518, no east Roman bishop denounced it. The Byzantine dominions were nearer religious harmony than at any other period.

However, the author is completely justified in pointing to the reign of Justinian as the great creative era of Chalcedonian Christological thought. With the final denunciation of Severus at the Home Synod of 536, Origenism became the next possible alternative to Chalcedon. Leontius of Jerusalem emerges as one of the great Byzantine theologians, rejecting the legacy of static Platonic idealism and insisting instead on the dynamism of salvation. The Word's manhood, he believed, hypostasised in Him, and filled with His energy and "leaven" within the "dough" of the whole of mankind, mediated salvation through a union of human and divine that was natural. The whole man was saved, and not merely his immortal soul as Origen had proclaimed. The Fifth General Council of 553 was not essentially an attempt to placate the Monophysites, though it went a long way in that direction, but an effort to set out a true neo-Chalcedonian theology while ridding Chalcedon itself of any suspicion of Nestorian influence. Reconciliation, as the author says, "could be based in a common faithfulness to Cyril of Alexandria," and a Biblical view of man.

By then, of course, it was too late for the Monphysites. At stages like this in the author's argument, one misses the essential political background that explains why between 553 and the murder of the Emperor Maurice in 602, "Chalcedon" became a bad word throughout much of the east, a matter of passion rather than discussion, just as the *filioque* would become during the schism between eastern and western Christendom after 1054. In the seventh century, all the theological diplomacy of Heraclius would not avail to heal the breach between the churches and to prevent the loss of Egypt, Palestine and Syria to the empire. In that situation Maximus the Confessor evolved his essentially dynamic doctrine of slavation, supposing a double movement, a divine movement towards man in which God is made partakable of by creation, and a human movement towards God, willed from the beginning by the Creator and restored in Christ. Amidst the disasters of the 630s, Maximus ahd his disciples drew on the whole range of orthodox Greek patristic thought in their effort to contemplate the fundamental relationships between the essence and energy within the Godhead and their connection with human salvation. In the eighth century the revival of Monophysite tendencies on the iconoclast side of the Iconoclastic Controversy was met by similar arguments from John of Damascus, Theo-

dore the Studite and from the Patriarch Nicephorus. Their writings illustrate that the continuity in Christological thought in Byzantium is an inseparable and integral whole, and a source of inspiration for the religious art for which Byzantine civilization is famed.

The author has written a profound a convincing synthesis, unfolding the continuity and logic of orthodox Byzantine Christology. At times perhaps he has made himself more difficult to follow than necessary through a lack of attention to historical background. Occasionally, too, hostages are given to fortune. It is by no means evident, for instance, that the Antiochenes, Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, were in any sense followers of Gregory Nazianzen. Their line of descent surely extends back to Eustathius of Antioch (flor. 325-35) and must include even Paul of Samosata. Nonetheless, students will derive enormous benefit from this fine, scholarly work. If, in addition, the author carries conviction that in our present unstable world where Western theological values seem to be going down like ninepins, the way to salvation is to be found in the labors of the great Byzantine theologians, his service to his fellow men will have been great indeed.

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Constance Head. *Imperial Twilight: The Palaiologos Dynasty and the Decline of Byzantium.* Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1977. 210 pp. 12 black-and-white plates. $11.00.

In recent years a number of scholars have turned their attention to the previously neglected Palocologan period of the Byzantine Empire, and several important monographs on the emperors of this dynasty have resulted, e.g., Geanakoplos' *Emperor Michael Palaeologus* (1959), Laiou's *The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II* (1972), Bosch's *Andronikos III Palaiologos* (1965), and Barker's *Manuel II Palaeologus* (1969). Such specialized studies have in turn made possible the appearance of more general works on the period, such as Donald Nicol's comprehensive volume, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453* (1972), and now a more popular account of the dramatic final centuries of Byzantium by Constance Head, professor of history at Western Carolina University.

Professor Head, clearly influenced by the masterful imperial portraits of Charles Diehl, has written a delightful series of sketches of the Palaeologan emperors, beginning with Michael Palaeologus' usurpation of the throne in Nicaea in 1259 and ending with the death of Constantine XI on the walls of Constantinople in May, 1453. She has drawn on original sources, the writings of contemporary historians and travelers, to provide vivid details about the personal appearance and character of the members of the Palaeologan dynasty, and she enlivens her account with interesting anecdotes, such as the origin of the unusual name of Simonis, the long-awaited daughter born to Andronicus II in 1294.

Unfortunately, in the effort to make her book appeal to a wide audience, Professor Head has greatly simplified the complex web of events which characterized the declining years of the Byzantine Empire. She concentrates on the imperial court, the personalities of the emperors, their marriages, their children, their struggles for the throne. She succeeds in presenting the emperors as distinct individuals, but her rulers live in a vacuum. For example, virtually every member of the Palaeologan dynasty became embroiled in some sort of religious controversy, either the question of union with Rome, or an internal matter such as the Arsenites or hesychasm. Yet the Arsenite schism, which preoccupied Andronicus II for the first thirty years of his reign, is nowhere mentioned, and hesychasm, an important factor in the civil war between John VI Cantacuzenus and John V Palaeologus, is dismissed in one paragraph. Surely the layman for whom this book is intended could profit from a more thorough discussion of the causes of the schism between the churches of East and West, the better to understand the reasons for the intransigent opposition to Union on the part of the Orthodox. And what of the Ottoman Turks,

whose rise to power in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries so greatly affected the fortunes of the Palaeologan dynasty? They are mentioned only peripherally in the first part of the book, although it was during the reigns of Andronicus II and III that the Ottomans, under the vigorous leadership of Orhan, seized Brusa, Nicaea and Nicomedia, and consolidated their hold on Bithynia, their base for future expansion. A brief description of the Ottoman emirate and the reasons for its successful conquests would have been a useful addition to the book.

Despite my reservations about the narrow focus of *Imperial Twilight,* I would still recommend it to the amateur historian or the beginning student as a well-written, accurate (if superficial) and most readable introduction to the fascinating story of the Byzantine Empire's long drawn out struggle for survival in its final centuries.

Alice-Mary Talbot *Lake Erie College*

Nikephoros Gregoras. *Antirrhetika I.* Einleitung, Textausgabe, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen von Hans-Veit Beyer. Wiener Byzantinische Studien, Band XII. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976. 494 pp.

La controversia sull' esicasmo provocò la fioritura di numerosi scritti polemici nella Bisanzio del XIV secolo. Soltanto alcuni di questi scritti sono stati studiati in modo esauriente e ben pochi di essi sono disponibili in edizioni critiche aggiornate. A quest' ultima categoria possiamo ascrivere ad esenpio la pubblicazione delle opere di Gregorio Palama, a cura di vari studiosi sotto la direzione di P. K. Christos (Tessalonica 1962-1970). Molti altri scritti invece—altrettanto fondamentali per la conoscenza di uno fra i momenti piú significativi della storia della cultura e della civiltà bizantina—sono tuttora affidati a edizioni insufficienti, che risentono dell' epoca in cui videro la luce e del metodo critico adottato.

Un caso limite era rappresentato finora dagli *Antirrhetica,* composti da Niceforo Gregora nel 1347 per polemizzare contro Gregorio Palama sulla dottrina di questo e contenuti, in una redazione non definitiva, nel codice *Genav. gr. 35.* La provvisorietà della redazione giunta fino a noi si rivela con frequenti e superflue ripetizioni, lungaggini, digressioni non essenziali. Potremmo definire questo scritto come una specie di arsenale polemico di materiali utilizzabili dopo una certa scelta e una piú accurata rifinitura. Alcuni capitoli (cfr. ad es. I 2, 6, 13) si configurano come repertori di passi tratti da un autore cononico e guistapposti l' uno all' altro; altri capitoli (cfr. ad es. I 1, 4, 2) sono serie di variazioni su tema, in attesa di utilizzazione.

Quest' opera, nonostante la riconosciuta importanza dell' argomento, e nonostante il ruolo di primo piano svolto nella vicenda esicasta sia dall' autore che dal destinatario dell' opera, era rimasta finora completamente inedita. La lacuna è stata colmata ora dal prezioso lavoro di Hans-Veit Beyer, che con la sua edizione dei discorsi 1-3 non solo ha reso possibile agli studiosi l' utilizzazione di un testo finora inaccessibile, ma ha anche provveduto a dare ad esso un inquadramento estremamente solido e a corredarlo di tutti i sussidi necessari ad una comprensione competa del messaggio teologico (ma anche storico, politico e culturale) dell' autore.

L'impegno dello studioso non è stato infatti limitato all' edizione critica pura e semplice, né l' attenzione si è fermata solo sui fatti testuali. Nell' ampia introduzione è stato studiato sotto tutti i punti di vista il periodo storico nel quale lo scritto è nato, e sono state esaminate tutte le opere prodotte dalle controversie del tempo e la loro genesi, con particolare riferimento alle relazioni politiche e ideologiche fra Costantinopoli e il Monte Athos, e fra l'oriente e l'occidente latino. In calce al testo greco la prima sezione dell' apparato critico, dedicata ai luoghi paralleli e all' indicazione delle fonti, svolge da sola la

funzione di vero e proprio commento: in essa infatti sono ritrovate tutte le linee direttrici della formazione culturale di Gregora, non solo quelle classiche e scritturali, ma anche quelle bizantine, piú difficilmente reperibili coi normali strumenti di lavoro a disposizione. Appaiono inoltre assai opportuni i numerosi paralleli con altri scritti dello stesso autore. Numerose note esplicative in calce alla traduzione tedesca completano il corredo esegetico con funzionale sobrietà.

Va sottolineata anche la ricchezza degli indici, anch' essi concepiti come strumenti per un' esegesi essenziale. In particolare il "Wortregister" si propone come un vero e proprio lessico della lingua di Gregora, anche se ovviamente limitato alle parole significative. Ogni termine considerato viene indicato insieme alla traduzione tedesca (spesso duplice o triplice, con distinzione, mediante i rinvii, dei vari significati assunti nel testo), mentre per molte parole o espressioni caratteristiche si accenna alla matrice ideologica donde provengono. Altrettanto utile, in funzione dell' apparato dei *loci similes* di cui si è detto, è naturalmente il ricco indice delle fonti citate.

E tuttavia la solidità dell' inquadramento storicistico, al quale abbiamo già accennato, che dà l' impronta caratterizzante a tutte le parti che compongono il volume. Beyer non si è lasciato tentare dalla possibilità di studiare gli *Antirrhetica* come testo soltanto teologico o, peggio ancora, come occasione per un esercizio erudito. Al contrario, si è servito dello scritto di Gregora per chiarire nel modo piú completo possibile le complesse posizioni ideologiche dei vari partiti nella Bisanzio del XIV secolo. Soprattutto nell' introduzione è stata tenuta costantemente presente la matrice anche politica della polemica esicasta, favorendo in questo modo la comprensione, da parte dei lettori moderni, della stessa ragion d' essere di questo tipo di produzione letteraria nell' oriente greco.

Non sfugge infatti a nessuno che le diverse posizioni assunte da partiti contrapposti in occasione di controversie religiose (o letterarie) sono il segno di una contrapposizione che è sociale e politica. Niceforo Gregora, qui come in altre sue opere polemiche (cfr. ad es. il suo *Fiorenzo o Intorno alla sapienza,* contro Barlaam Calabro, edito recentemente da P.L.M. Leone, [Napoli 1975]), si rivela come il sostenitore piú convinto del nazionalismo greco contro il pericolo di un asservimento spirituale all' occidente latino manifestantesi attraverso progetti di unificazione religiosa, e sostenitore altresí del patrimonio culturale classico contro ogni tendenza innovatrice in quanto centrifuga e sovvertitrice.

Questo tipo di ricerca di dati storici concreti anche negli scritti bizantini che non appartengono al "genere" storico (opere retoriche, teologiche, filosofiche . . .) è portato avanti da Beyer secondo le tracce da tempo indicate dai suoi maestri G. H. Karlsson (del quale va ricordato, in questa prospettiva, *Idéologie et cérémonial dans l' epistolographie byzantine,* [Uppsala, 1962^2]) e H. Hunger (*Prooimion. Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden,* [Wien, 1964]). L' utilità di tali indagini nel quadro non ancora completamente chiaro dell' eredità intellettuale di Bisanzio negli ultimi secoli della sua storia è facilmente comprensibile. E quindi lecito augurarsi che le ricerche di Beyer, avviate sotto i migliori auspici e collegate con altre iniziative importanti della scuola bizantinistica di Vienna (fra le quali citiamo il lessico prosopografico dell'età dei Paleologi, cui lo stesso Beyer collabora), siano destinate a proseguire con uguale impegno e serietà, e con risultati sempre piú notevoli.

Riccardo Maisano *Università di Salerno, Italia*

BYZANTINE STUDIES/ETUDES BYZANTINES, 4, Part 2 (1977), 225-26.

PROFESSIONAL NEWS/NOUVELLES DE LA PROFESSION

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

The Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies offers annually a limited number of Visiting and Junior Fellowships to qualified scholars and students of Byzantine and related fields of history, archeology, history of art, philology, theology, and other disciplines. Additional information and applications may be requested from the Director of Studies, The Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1703 Thirty-second Street, Washington, DC 20007.

The Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, makes available annually several research assistantships designated for the field of Byzantine studies. For further information and application forms, write to the Director, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of California, Los Angles, CA 90025.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The Fourth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference will be held at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, 3-5 November 1978. The Conference will provide a forum for the presentation and discussion of research papers in all areas of Byzantine studies. The program and local arrangements are under the direction of Professor John Fine, Department of History, University of Michigan.

The Fifth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference will be held tentatively 19-21 October 1979 at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington, DC. Information on local arrangements and the program will be made available at a later date.

The University of Birmingham has announced that its Twelfth Spring Sumposium will have as its theme "The Byzantine Black Sea." The symposium will meet 18-21 March 1978. The Symposium directors are Anthony Bryer, Odysseus Lampsides, and Dimitri Obolensky.

The Second Conference on Gree, Roman and Byzantine Studies will meet 31 March-2 April, 1978, at Ladycliff College, Highland Falls, NY. All correspondence should be directed to Professor Anthony R. Santoro at Ladycliff College. The 1979 meeting will take place at Rutgers University.

TWO RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS

Advertisement

Applications are invited for two one-year Research Fellowships in Byzantine Historical Geography, starting 2 October 1978, to work on a project in late Byzantine and early Ottoman demography. The Fellows, who will collaborate, will be proficient in late Byzantine and early Ottoman documents respectively. They will hold Fellowships for 1978/79 in Birmingham and, subject to approval, will proceed to Fellowships at the Harvard University's Center for Byzantine Studies, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., in 1979/80 to complete the project. Further particulars from the Director of the Centre for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, England; or the Director of Dumbarton Oaks, 1703 32nd Street N.W., Washington DC 20007, U.S.A.

Birmingham Salary on the lower part of the scale £3,660-£6,178.

Applications (eight copies, one of which will be forwarded to Dumbarton Oaks),

naming three referees, indicating which Fellowship is being applied for, should be sent by 24 July 1978 to the Assistant Registrar (Arts), University of Birmingham, P. O. Box 363, Birmingham, B15 2TT, England.

Further particulars

The Centre for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, and the Center for Byzantine Studies, Dumbarton Oaks, are collaborating on a specific project ot further the general programme of the Commission Internationale de Géographie Historique of the Association Internationale des Etudes Byzantines.

The project aims to apply modern demographic techniques to those areas and periods of the Byzantine world in which sources are adequate to use them: especially where late Byzantine charters can be correlated with early Ottoman *defters*. We therefore seek two scholars competent in either, or both, these types of sources who can work together to apply and adapt current demographic principles to them. We have in mind specific areas and documents (Athos, Constantinople, and the Pontos in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), but are open to further suggestions and the project will be largely shaped by Fellows working on it. There will be consultants to advise the Fellows. It is expected that the project will employ both Fellows for two years, with the possibility of extension to a third year if it proves necessary. Both Fellows will be appointed by the University of Birmingham for the first year, 1978/79 (under the direction of Dr A. A. M. Bryer), and proceed to appointments by Dumbarton Oaks in 1979/80. So successful candidates in 1978 will be approved jointly by Dumbarton Oaks and Birmingham, but for administrative reasons their second, Dumbarton Oaks, appointment for 1979 cannot be formally ratified before autumn 1978. One of the two Birmingham Fellowships is funded by the University; the other by the Ouranis Foundation of the Academy of Athens and private monies. The Dumbarton Oaks salaries sstart at $7,000 each, with accomodation. Both the Birmingham and Dumbarton Oaks salaries are related to age and experience.

The superb research facilities of Dumbarton Oaks are well known and its Byzantine library is unrivalled. The Byzantine and medieval library facilities at Birmingham are good, and both Centres hold regular seminars and conferences. In addition, Birmingham has a computer which is adapted for demographic work.

A Conference on, or publication of, the project are envisaged if the results warrant it.

Please contact either of the undersigned if you require further information.

ANTHONY BRYER,
Director of the Centre for
Byzantine Studies, Birmingham.

GILES CONSTABLE,
Director,
Dumbarton Oaks.

BYZANTINE STUDIES/ETUDES BYZANTINES, 4, Part 2 (1977), 227-28.

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Anne Comène. *Alexiade.* Edited and translated by Bernard Leib, S.J. Association Guillaume Budé, Collection Byzantine, four volumes. Paris: Société d'Edition "Les Belles Lettres," 1945-76. clxxxi, 178; 246; 306 and onomastical index; and ix, 141 pp. Index; and ix, 141 pp. Index, vol. IV, by Paul Gautier.

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Chestnut, Roberta C. *Three Monophysite Christologies: Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus of Mabbug, and Jacob of Sarug.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976. viii, 158 pp., index. $14.75.

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